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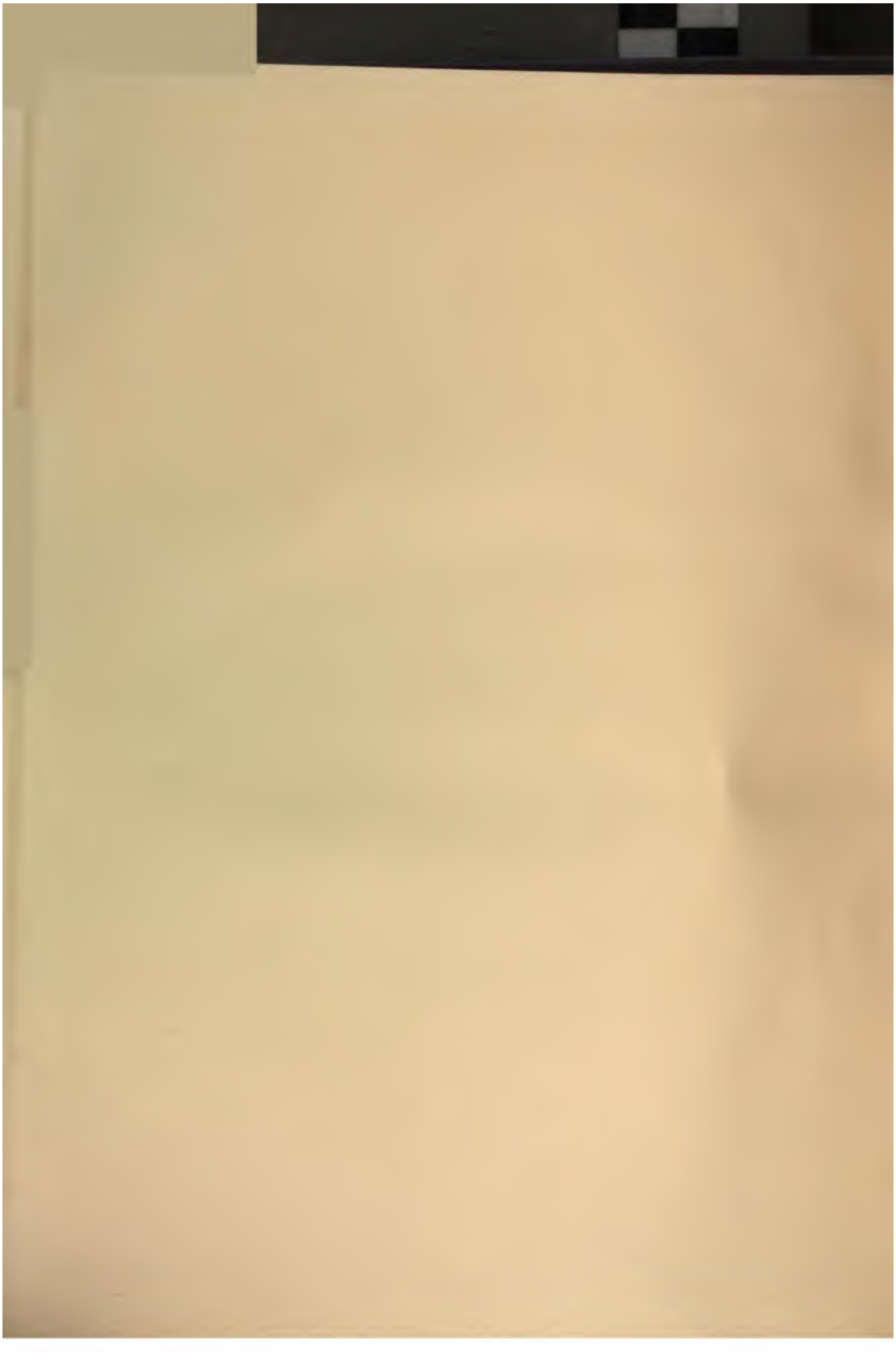

THE CAMDEN MISCELLANY,

VOLUME THE TENTH:

CONTAINING

THE JOURNAL OF SIR ROGER WILBRAHAM, SOLICITOR-GENERAL IN IRELAND AND MASTER OF REQUESTS, FOR THE YEARS 1593–1616, TOGETHER WITH NOTES IN ANOTHER HAND, FOR THE YEARS 1642–1649. Edited by HAROLD SPENCER SCOTT.

A BOOKE OF THE TRAVAILE AND LIEF OF ME, THOMAS HOBY, W[t] DIVERSE THINGS WOORTH THE NOTINGE. Edited by EDGAR POWELL.

PRINCE RUPERT AT LISBON. Edited by the late S. R. GARDINER, D.C.L.

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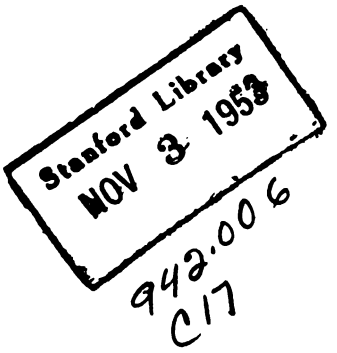
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BY

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OF LINCOLN'S INN, BARRISTER-AT-LAW

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PREFACE

THE note book, or occasional journal, from which the extracts here given are taken, was kept, with the exception mentioned in the next sentence, by Sir Roger Wilbraham during the years 1593–1616, in a 12mo volume, bound in vellum, of about 300 pages, closely written in a small hand, and described by him as a 'book of observations for my age or children' (p. 57). At the end, however, there are a few entries, in another hand, beginning with the year 1642 and ending in 1649. The book itself is in the possession of the Earl of Lathom, who traces his descent through Sir Roger's father, Richard Wilbraham of Nantwich, and it is due to his kindness that the contents are now available for transcription and publication.

About half of the manuscript is here printed. The other part has been, with some regret, omitted, because the space at command does not permit of its insertion. Moreover the passages thus left out deal with legal and literary matters, lying, perhaps, rather outside the province of the Society's publications. In the table of contents, however, a short description of all the entries contained in the original book is included, wherein the passages not here printed are summarised within square brackets.

Roger Wilbraham, the second son of Richard Wilbraham of Nantwich (p. 110), of the ancient family of the Wilbrahams of Woodhey (p. 111), by his first wife, Eliza, daughter to Thomas Maisterson, also of Nantwich, was born on November 4, 1553,

and died July 31, 1616.[1] Roger was a somewhat important personage under Queen Elizabeth and James I. For a brief record of his career we have an inscription on his monument in Hadley Church, near London, printed by Ormerod in his 'History of Cheshire.'[2]

This monument, standing on the south wall, is of veined marble, supported by Corinthian columns, and is ornamented with good busts of Sir Roger and his wife.[3] The inscription runs as follows: 'Sir Roger Wilbraham knt. descended of y^e^ auncient familie of y^e^ Wilbrahams of Woodhey in y^e^ countye of Chester. Was Sol^r^ Gen^l^ in Ireland to Q. Eliz for 14 yr̃s and in 1600 M^r^ of Requestes to H. M. in Ordinary & Surveyor of y^e^ Liveries to K^g^ James in H. M. C^t^ of Wards and L. & Chauncellor to Q. Ann. Marr^d^ Marye y^e^ daũ of Ed^d^ Baber esquier serjeant at lawe.'

But apart from 'lapidary inscriptions' much information concerning Wilbraham may be gleaned from the contemporary records. From them and the present manuscript the following chief events of his life have been collected:—

He was admitted to Gray's Inn at a Pension held on June 27, 1576, at the same time as Francis Bacon and his brother Antony.[4] June 27, 1583, is the date of his admission as an 'utter barrister,' again with Francis Bacon.[5] On January 31, 1586, his Inn elected him an *Ancient*[6] on his appointment to the office of Solicitor-General in Ireland.[7] As Solicitor-General his name constantly appears in the Acts of the Privy Council (N.S. 1587–1593), and in the Calendar of State Papers, both Irish and 'Domestic,'

[1] Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, 2nd edition, by Helsby, ii. 137, Pedigree of Wilbrahams of Townsend and Delamere Lodge.

[2] Vol. iii. p. 345, note.

[3] Lysons's *Environs of London, Middx.* (1795), ii. 520.

[4] *The Pension Book of Gray's Inn*, edited by the Rev. Reginald J. Fletcher, p. 26.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 55. [6] *Ibid.* p. 71.

[7] Privy Seal, Greenwich, February 11, 1585–6; Patent, Dublin, April 19, *Liber Hiberniæ*, i. part ii. 75.

where many letters of his to Burghley are to be found. On June 27, 1595, he was called to the Bench by his Inn,[1] and in 1598 was Reader.[2] From this date Wilbraham seems to have spent most of his time away from Ireland, though his patent was not revoked until 1603.[3] This may be inferred from the constant mention of him as present at Pensions in Gray's Inn, and the references to him in State Papers, 'Domestic,' while he is not mentioned in the Irish State Papers of the years 1599 and 1600. Moreover we gather that he settled down to practice at the English Bar, as he mentions in this journal that he attended circuit at Norwich in September 1598 (p. 20), and was retained in February 1599 as counsel, with Bacon, in the Abergavenny Barony case, on behalf of one of the claimants, Lady Fane, the daughter of Henry Nevill, the last baron ('Table of Contents,' Pt. I. No. 25). Earlier, in 1593, we learn that he was over in England;[4] and so was in London when Parliament was dissolved on April 10, 1593, a report of the Dissolution being one of the earliest entries in the book. The first mention of him in the present journal as Master of Requests is on August 16, 1600 (p. 35); and it was in this year that he obtained the appointment. In the early part of 1601 he was employed in unravelling the Essex conspiracy, taking part, for instance, on February 16 with Lord Chief Justice Popham and Mr. Attorney Coke in the examinations of Sir Charles Danvers and William, Lord Sandys.[5] In 1602 we find him Keeper of the Records in the Tower (p. 80 and note), an office which he surrendered in 1603 for an annuity of 100*l.*, as his tenure infringed on the rights of the Master of the Rolls.[6] On May 20, 1603, he was knighted by James I. at Greenwich, together with his colleague at the Requests, Sir Julius Cæsar.[7] He was returned to the first

[1] *The Pension Book of Gray's Inn*, edited by the Rev. Reginald J. Fletcher, p. 110.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 137.

[3] *Liber Hiberniæ*, i. part ii. 75.

[4] *Cal. of State Papers, Ireland*, 1592–6, p. 77.

[5] *S. P. Dom.* 1598–1601, pp. 571–574.

[6] *Ibid.* 1603–10, p. 15.

[7] Metcalfe's *Book of Knights*, p. 143.

Parliament of James I. as one of the members of the Cornish borough of Kellington,[1] one of those boroughs to which the privilege of sending representatives to Parliament was granted or restored by Queen Elizabeth with a view to establishing the Queen's control over the House of Commons and providing seats for ministers and officials.[2] In June 1604 he is mentioned as the Queen's Chancellor.[3] Three years later a grant of the Surveyorship of the King's Liveries and the Court of Wards and Liveries was conferred on him for life.[4] In the spring of 1609 he was in a commission with Sir Robert Gardiner and Sir James Ley for the examination of all suitors to the Council on matters relating to the Plantation of Ulster,[5] and again in 1613 he was sent over to Dublin with other Commissioners to investigate the charges brought against the Irish Government (p. 113).[6] On March 8, 1614, he obtained a grant in reversion of the office of constable of Chester Castle for life.[7]

By his wife, Mary, the daughter of Edward Baber, Esq., serjeant-at-law, he had three daughters, who on his death on July 31, 1617, became 'heirs to 4,000*l.* a year.'[8] On February 4, 1613, his second daughter, Elizabeth, was married to her cousin, Thomas Wilbraham, son and heir apparent of Sir Richard Wilbraham of Woodhey, knight, 'chief of his name.' In the marriage licence Roger Wilbraham is described as of St. John's, Clerkenwell (p. 111, note). The presence of Roger Wilbraham's monument in Hadley Church may be explained by the fact that in 1609 one Cornelius Fysshe and others aliened the manor of Ludgraves and twenty acres of land, forty of meadow, ninety of pasture, and ten of wood in Hadley and Edmonton to Sir Roger Wilbraham and his heirs. In 1795, when Lysons published his 'Environs of London,' this estate was called Blue House Farm,

[1] *Parliamentary History*, i. 972.
[2] *Ibid.* i. 958.
[3] *S. P. Dom.* 1603–10, p. 123.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 380.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 512, and Devon's *Issues of the Exchequer, James I.* p. 113.
[6] Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, 1883, ii. 295.
[7] *S. P. Dom.* 1611–18, p. 226.
[8] *Ibid.* pp. 390, 426.

and was the property of the widow of a Lieutenant-Colonel West.[1]

There is some interesting information concerning Wilbraham's tenure of office in Ireland in certain 'charges' brought against him and endorsed by Burghley in 1597,[2] charges which, whether true or false, are certainly of the usual kind advanced against English officials in Ireland, and are somewhat explanatory of the great wealth whereof he died possessed. His fees of office are stated at 200*l.* a year; but though he was to give 'his utmost attendance in the Court of Exchequer,' yet, 'for any fees he will be hired to go to any court and leaves the Exchequer,' and 'by reason of his absence many suits are wonderfully delayed, to the great charges of Her Majesty's subjects.' With the connivance of the barons in the Exchequer who will not 'deal against their cousins and friends, but rather take part against the Queen . . . he doth get daily sums of money for making purchases in Cheshire,' and 'he may praise God for coming into Ireland, for that hath been better to him than Gray's Inn would have been in many years.' Moreover 'every man complaineth of him for taking excessive fees: of some he taketh silver, of some gold, of some horses, of some armour of proof, or anything else: nothing cometh amiss.' In spite, however, of his 'extraordinary fees and exactions,' his encroachments into other men's offices, the licences which he begged only to sell, and 'more gifts and wardships than any Solicitor has had,' he 'yet keeps no house, nor spends a penny, which the country expects in all those that have Her Majesty's fees.' The paper concludes, 'The country wish him away, for he wringeth them too much, and the people are poor, whereof he hath no consideration, but to serve his own turn.'

Dorford Hall and the manor of Acton and Hurleston, which Wilbraham purchased from the Bromleys and passed over to his

[1] Lysons, *Environs of London, Middx.* ii. 519.
[2] *Cal. of State Papers, Ireland*, 1696–97, p. 497.

younger brother, Ralph, would seem to be one of these 'purchases in Cheshire;'[1] and in 1590 a purchase was made by him of houses in Nantwich.[2]

Wilbraham was evidently a careful student, as is shown by the long analysis he makes of such law books as Lambard's 'Eirenarchia' (see 'Table of Contents,' Pt. III. 2), while the list of books entered for his future reading in 1600, and the extracts, verses, and phrases noted down by him in his journal prove him to have had a taste for history, theology, and the classics.

The manuscript is in Sir Roger Wilbraham's handwriting, with the exception, as has been said before, of a few pages written in another hand at the time of the Civil War. This latter portion chiefly consists of a long passage entitled the 'Expressions of Mr. Arthur Wodenoth as to the Present Distractions and Divisions of Church and State, 1645.' The Wodenoths were a Cheshire family, and the name appears among the inscriptions in Nantwich Church. This Mr. Arthur Wodenoth would seem to be George Herbert's great friend, mentioned often by Isaac Walton in his 'Life of Herbert' (*vide post.* p. 118, *note*).

The entries begin at both ends of the book. At one end we have notes on the books which Roger Wilbraham read. In the case of one or two law books—as, for instance, Lambard's 'Eirenarchia'—there is a careful and lengthy abstract. These notes are not here printed for the reason stated above, but are summarised in the 'Table of Contents.' At the other end is to be found considerably the largest and most interesting portion of the book, a journal, not kept from day to day, but one in which were noted down events which interested him, or notes on books and conversations. Thus we have accounts of the prorogations and dissolutions of Parliament with the Sovereign's speeches and those of ministers, and notes on Parliamentary debates and discussions in the Privy Council. Of the speeches that of Queen

[1] Ormerod's *Hist. of Cheshire*, iii. 345. [2] *S. P. Dom.* 1581–90, p. 679.

Elizabeth to her last Parliament on December 19, 1601, reported here by Roger Wilbraham (pp. 44–47), so far as I can discover, is not found elsewhere, though there is an allusion to it in one of Carleton's letters.[1] Mr. Spedding evidently had no knowledge of it, as he describes the Queen's 'Golden Speech' to the Speaker and the Commons at Whitehall on November 30, 1601, as her last meeting with her people.[2] He has a full account of the death of the Queen, and the events immediately before and after the coming of the King, wherein, with a few words, he gives a graphic description of his last interview with Elizabeth, winding up with a long and striking comparison drawn between the characters of James and Elizabeth (pp. 53–60). There is a brief description also, interesting on account of the rarity of such reports, of the coronation of James I., and there is, as might have been expected, an entry concerning the Gunpowder Plot (p. 70). There are also conversations held with important personages on political questions of great moment, such as the views on the state of Ireland, expressed to him by Lord Chief Justice Popham and the Archbishop of Cashel, wherein a very clear account is given of the alarming condition of the country in the autumn of 1599 (p. 24), only a few months after Essex had landed at Dublin in the April of that year. As a lawyer he gives a long report of the Abergavenny Barony case before the Earl Marshal's Court, a case wherein he was retained as counsel; and also of the lengthy dispute between the King's Bench and the President of Wales as to jurisdiction. These reports have, however, been, with some regret, omitted for want of space, although, as in every case, a brief description will be found in the 'Table of Contents.' We find entries chronicling other matters of public interest, though of less moment; conversations with Bacon, the Earl of Salisbury, Lord Chief Justice Popham, and others; stories of the lawyers of his time

[1] *S. P. Dom.* 1601–3, p. 134.
[2] *Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*, iii. 33.

and sayings by them; legal gossip and notes; notes on history and books; quotations from Latin authors; aphorisms, sentences, and phrases which seem to have struck his fancy, and often bear the influence of the euphuism of the day. Here again many entries appear only in the 'Table of Contents.' But perhaps the most interesting portions are the reports noted down by Wilbraham of Privy Council proceedings, at which he was often present in person. Very possibly his presence in the Star Chamber, when Irish affairs were under discussion, was due to the knowledge which he must have obtained in his long tenure of the office of Solicitor-General of Ireland. On other occasions, after 1600, his attendance may probably be sometimes ascribed to his position as a Master of Requests in ordinary, which would bring him into very close relations with the Sovereign. In order to understand this it will be necessary to describe briefly the nature of this office.

The origin and early history of the Court of Requests are well treated by Mr. I. S. Leadam in the interesting introduction to his selection of cases in this court.[1] It is enough to say here that the Court of Requests was an offshoot of the King's Council, and originally served the purpose of a poor man's tribunal, representing the King's Justice, in mitigation of the rigour of proceedings at law. It formed, in fact, a court of conscience or equity, whose process was of a summary nature, framed largely on the principles of the civil law. By Elizabeth's time, however, the simpler and cheaper procedure it administered had come to be abused by wealthy and influential plaintiffs; and in consequence constant collisions arose between it and the common law courts (p. 95). In regard to the relation of the Masters of Requests to the Privy Council, whatever may have been their position in the earlier days of the Court's existence, certain it is that by Wilbraham's time the distinct existence of the Privy Council as the acting committee of the King's Council was firmly assured; and the

[1] *Select Cases in the Court of Requests.* Selden Society, vol. 12.

masters, though sworn in as counsellors to the King, and in spite of their claim, as set forth by Sir Julius Cæsar, to be regarded as Privy Councillors, were not entitled to this distinction. Thus Sir Julius Cæsar, though appointed by James I. as an ordinary Master of Requests in 1603, was only made a Privy Councillor in 1607. Sir Harris Nicolas, in his preface to 'Proceedings of the Privy Council,'[1] in discussing the difference between the King's ordinary counsellors, like the Masters of Requests and the members of the Privy Council, points out that the former never sign documents. Yet probably the King's ordinary counsellors were invited to attend on certain occasions when they possessed special knowledge, and it is to this, possibly, that Wilbraham's presence at Privy Council meetings is due. Moreover, in addition to their judicial duties, the Masters of Requests were members of the King's household, and thus closely attached to his person. Thus, though there was a permanent court fixed at Whitehall, yet, in virtue of the close connection with the Sovereign which his office gave him, Wilbraham not only attended the Royal Progresses (pp. 62–65), but seems to have been frequently employed both by Elizabeth and James as an instrument for State business and a messenger of the Sovereign's instructions. Whatever the explanation may be, certain it is, from this journal, that Wilbraham was sometimes present at the Council meetings (pp. 37–50). Some of the most interesting portions are these reports of discussions in the Privy Council on matters of State, such as the Rebellion in Ireland and the conduct of Essex, or the perpetual emptiness of James's Exchequer.

A considerable portion of the journal is in law French, interspersed with Latin words and sentences. Of the more important passages a translation is given. Throughout abbreviations are expanded, but as far as is possible the original manuscript has been followed and the spelling and punctuation preserved.

HAROLD SPENCER SCOTT.

October 1902.

[1] Vol. vii. Introd. pp. xvi–xxiii.

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66. [The above dispute adjourned to January 4, 160$\frac{4}{5}$, when it widens into a controversy between the Courts of Common Law and of Chancery, Coke for Common Law Courts, Bacon for Court of Chancery, and is again adjourned (in law French).]
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PART II.

IN ANOTHER HAND.

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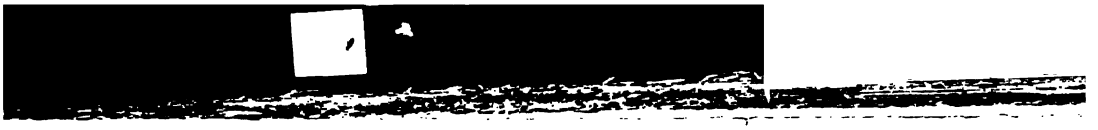
PART III.

ENTRIES BY ROGER WILBRAHAM AT THE OTHER END OF THE BOOK.

(Note.— None of the entries in this part are here printed.)

1. [Notes on Latin grammar, 1594.]
2. [Notes on Lambard's *Eirenarchia*, or the office of the justices of the peace.]
3. [Latin legal and general maxims.]
4. [Notes on the *Institutes of Justinian*.]
5. [Observations on Lambard's *Eirenarchia*, collected, Christmas 1593, by Roger Wilbraham, 35 pages of careful abstract.]
6. [Notes on *Fortescue de Legibus*.]
7. ['Observanda ex Doctore et Legis Studioso.']
8. [Notes 'de Fraude et Dolo Malo ex Lege Civili,' March 8, 1594.]
9. [Notes on West's *Symboleographia*.]
10. [List of books and titles to be read; September 4, 1600; under this, besides law writers, Stamford and Perkins, with all the statutes of England and Ireland, 'toutz mon collections,' and a long list of legal 'titles,' Wilbraham notes the following books: 'Oblectamenta Historiæ, Camden, Livius, Plinius Secundus, Hollingshed, Salustius, Lipsius, Princeps Aulicus et Consiliarius ab Hipollito a Collibus, Comines, Phisica Sebast' Verronis Epitome, Cæsar, &c.: Medicina Fernelii: In Sacris Libris, Reynolds contra Hart, Controversiæ Ambarum Ecclesiarum Beza, et Textus Proverbiorum Novumque Testamentum.']
11. [Notes on acceptance and actions *sur case*.]
12. [Notes on 'Acompte,' 'Chemyn,' Subpena, Contracts and Customs.]



THE JOURNAL OF

SIR ROGER WILBRAHAM

Solicitor-General in Ireland and Master of Requests

FOR THE YEARS 1593–1616

TOGETHER WITH NOTES IN ANOTHER HAND

FOR THE YEARS 1642-1649

Yet did this pope more for the Sea of Rome then any predecessores: for he recovered the dukedome of Ferrara to the Sea: & reunited Fraunce & made 13 cardinals at one tyme: per Bacon.

22 *Apr.* 99 in private the L. ch. Justice Popham told me I might live to see Ireland a play of 3 parties: Tirone, Butler [1] & Florence McCharty,[2] who is chief of all the Irishrie in Mounster & like to carry it from Ormond: tho now they be linked: this was delivered him in secrett by the Vicont Buttevant,[3] long sithence, to him who told her maiestie thereof: so Florence was imprisoned: & one great councellor made to hold with him, another against him: as it was in Condon's case:[4] & that Henry Pyne[5] that

[1] Thomas Butler, tenth Earl of Ormonde, in 1597 Lord Lieutenant-General of the Forces in Ireland,and in 1599 Treasurer there for the second time.

[2] Florence McCarthy, at this time (spring 1599), had endured twelve years of imprisonment (for the most part in London) and vain suits, his troubles with the Government beginning in 1587, by reason of his marriage with the only daughter and heiress of the Earl of Clancarty. (*Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. xvi. pp. 147, 381, and succeeding volumes, *passim*.) In 1595 Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Secretary to the Council at Dublin, urges Burghley to detain Florence McCarthy, on account of his 'Spanish affection.' (*Cal. of State Papers, Ireland*, 1592–6, p. 421.) In April 1599 Cecil writes to Essex proposing to make use of his influence in Munster against the rebels, and so at last his claim to the lands of the Earl of Clancarty, in right of his wife, seems to obtain favour. (*Cal. S. P.*, Irel., 1599–1600, p. 25.) In the same month he is in Ireland corresponding with Cecil (*ibid.* 14). The fears of the Chief Justice, here expressed, appear to be well grounded, for on February 29, 1600, we find Chamberlain writing to Carleton, from London, 'Florence McCarthy, lately made much of here, has fallen away in Munster and made himself Macarty Moore, a great title in those parts, and will probably do much harm.' (*S. P. Dom.*, 1598–1601, p. 402.) For an 'abstract of several Treasons committed by Florence McCarthy,' see *Calendar of State Papers, Carew*, 1589–1600, pp. 514–515, and also of the reasons he 'allegeth to prove' that the Earl of Clancarty's lands ought to descend to Ellen his wife and to her heirs, in Carew's hand (*ibid.* 516).

[3] David FitzJames, Lord Barry, Viscount Buttevant, member of the Council in Munster.

[4] Patrick Condon's case was against certain undertakers, who had entered on his lands in Munster during the deputyship of Sir Henry Sidney, when Condon was indicted and attainted of treason. (*Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. xxi. 1591, p. 339, and vol. xxiii. 1592, p. 74.) The case dragged on, and in 1597 he had been a suitor for nine years. (*Cal. S. P. Irel.*, 1597–8, p. 348.)

[5] 'This Patrick (Condon), being weak, was mightily backed by one Henry Pine, of Moghelly, an English gentleman, which furnished the Spaniards with

fostered Condon was a popishe and verie daungerous fellowe: entertayner of priests, tho heare favored because he hath parteners here in the pipestaves sent for Spain.

His Lordship & I concurred, that for a sound reformation in Ireland a Parliament was necessarie to bring all lands to Englishe tenure: and to take thereby a resumpcion of all rebells' landes principals as ayders: & to such as deserved to regrant them to hold of her maiestie by small or petit reservacions: wherby all may depend upon the prince's tenure, & the certenti of the course of discent & estate knowen:

2° To be a generall disarming of the Irishrye:

3° To have a conformitie in religion, that all at lest come to churche:

also in cases of submission to tak securitie of men of foren province, that if one revolt thother may stande.

Also he told me he saw the letter written from Desmond [1] to the king of Spaine, intimating that by tyranie the Inglish had usurped upon ther lande, & so purposed to doe upon ther conscience: but he had weeded the garden better than his predecessors whose services he did remember & that he had taken the heire aparent to the crowne; what that ment my Lord nor I knew.

7 *Junii* 1599: in conference with Mr. Bacon and Mr. Gerrard clerk of Duchie: we find that if all copiholders & customarie tenants were required to doble their anuall rente, & ther fines made certen for 3 lives at the lest the tenants wold assent willinglie: & it wold raize a great annuall revenue: wherby her Maiestie might pleasure manie or inrich her self: but then some great officers that had gift of stewardships, as the L. Tresorer & chauncelors of eschequer & Duchie wold loose perquisites: yet might they be better advauntaged otherwise:

also stewardes of courts of her maiestie do continew & renew copies for 3 lives: & reserve the acustomed old fines & purse up 3

pipe-staves, and Patrick with money, enriched himself, and forgot English sympathy.' (*Cal. S. P.*, Irel., 1599–1600, p. 499.) Sir Walter Raleigh had a grant with others for the export of pipe-staves from Munster to Spain. (*Acts of the Privy Council*, 1592–3, vol. xxiv. pp. 6, 336.)

[1] James Fitz Thomas Fitzgerald, heir of the disinherited elder son of James fourteenth Earl of Desmond. His claim to the earldom was not recognised by Elizabeth. In 1598 he joined Tyrone in rebellion.

[times] so much to ther private: and yet the ought to grent out copies of necessitie to the heires.

24 *Nov.* 99: Patrick Crosby[1] that connyng pilot of Ireland[2] that parlied with Desmond, father Archer, legate,[3] Donogh McCragh,[4] capten Terril,[5] Mcdonogh, Knight of Kerry,[6] & used by the late president[7] as a spy, brought this: 1° that Ireland was lost & saving townes and castels all at the rebels will: that no meanes but famyne to constraine them to loyalti: & that must be by taking ther cattall and hindering the seedes & harvest and burning ther corne: that it now apereth Englishe soldiers are *good* onlie to garrizon & to make incursions wher they may *retorne* to harbour within 40 howres: & not able to make long marches nor to want ther lodginge & good diett. & that it will now trobie England to send over 40.000 men which (being now unwilling to goe into Ireland) will not suffice to make recovery of Ireland: ther being 3.000 *knights* in Mounster waged from

[1] Thomas Bostevant, member of the Council in Munster, writing on November 4, 1599, to Cecil, who is 'desirous to understand the certainty of all things in this kingdom and particularly in this province,' refers to Crosby thus: 'If I were to pick out one in the whole realm for that purpose I would make choice of him.' (*Cal. S. P. Irel.* 1599–1600, p. 226.) Elsewhere he is spoken of as 'one that since the beginning of all these rebellions in Munster hath remained in my Lord President's house with him, and can best inform your Honour of the present state here, and the best means for reducing it to a settlement of any that I know.' (Letter of Kingsmill to Cecil, August 21, 1599, from Mallow, *ibid.* 138.)

[2] The alarming state of Ireland here described and the plan suggested for its recovery are referred to in (1) a letter from Sir Thomas Norris, President of Munster, from Cork to the Privy Council, December 9, 1598 (*Cal. S. P. Irel.*, 1598, pp. 399–400); (2) letter of Queen Elizabeth endorsed by Cecil, 'For Munster,' wherein the information is said to come from 'our subject *P.C.*' (*i.e.* Patrick Crosby), *ibid.* 1599 p. 363; (3) a long report, endorsed 'For Sir George Carew,' concerning the state of Ireland (*ibid.* 365–370).

[3] Father James Archer of Kilkenny, 'called the Pope's legate.' (Queen's letter *supra*.)

[4] Dr. McCragh or Creagh, 'called the Pope's Nuncio,' and 'usurped bishop of Cork.' (*Ibid.*)

[5] Captain Richard Tyrell, a rebel leader.

[6] William Fitzgerald, Knight of Kerry, 'one of the principal traitors' in Munster.

[7] Sir Thomas Norris, late President of Munster, died of a wound on August 16, 1599, at Mallow. (*Cal. S. P. Irel.*, 1599–1600, p. 128.)

Connaght, besides all the lords & gentlemen out in Kerry : & the moste in Corke, saving Barry,[1] Roch,[2] John Fits Edmond,[3] Fynen O'Driscol,[4] Cormac McDermot,[5] Florence McCharty,[6] Donel Pipee.[7]

His plot was that Oway McRorie,[8] capten Tyrrell, & Donel Spanis[9] should invade Mounster rebels,[10] that first made them go into rebellion : & so both sides would be wasted in warre : Leinster Mounster & Connaght wold be ruyned by famyn & so made quiet : & the meane tyme the Q[s] forces to invade Ulster : 2 difficulties :

1° How Ormond wold like this, who never had any great success for us :

2° How the Irish may be allured by rewards against ther plighted vowes & religion to serve one against another : especialli against ther own allies and kindesmen : & therfore more daungerous to sett up one rebell against another in the same province : *vide lopinion de tres graund et suspected polititian evesque de Cashel* :[11] 3 leaves after.

Burghley : *Rationes in utrumque de pace seu bello cum Hispania tractatæ*, 98.[12]

Pro pace : 1° Peace most agreable with religion & civill society :

2° Her maiestie scandalized to be nurse of dissention : *ergo bone* :

3° Commodities of peace are present, of warre future :

[1] David Fitz James, Lord Barry, Viscount Buttevant.

[2] Maurice, Lord Roche, Viscount Fermoy.

[3] John Fitz Edmond, called in the Queen's letter, *supra*, 'our good old servitor.' (*Cal. S. P. Irel.*, 1599–1600, p. 363.)

[4] Fynen O'Driscoll.

[5] Cormac McDermot, chief of Muskerry.

[6] Florence McCarthy, *vide ante*, p. 24, note.

[7] *Alias* McCarthy Reogh, chief of Carberry (see *Cal. S. P. Irel.*, 1592–6, where the name is printed Na Pipi, Ne Pipee and Pypy). His wife was Desmond' sister (*ibid.*, 1599–1600, p. 364).

[8] Oway or Onie McRorie, son of Rory Oge O'Moore, chief of the Moores.

[9] Donnell Spainagh, a chief of the Kavanaghs.

[10] 'The likeliest men in Leinster are Onie McRory, Donnell Spainagh, and Captain Tyrell. These be the men that raised all the rebellion in Munster, and these be the men that may surpress it.' (*Cal. S. P. Irel.*, 1599–1600 p. 367.)

[11] Miler Magrath, Archbishop of Cashel, 1571–1622.

[12] Camden practically gives this, *Annales Reg. Eliz.* (1627) vol. ii. p. 155 &c.

4° Her maiestie's person more secured, if no foren enemy be to foster such assailants:

5° Great expenses wilbe avoided:

6° It is like, the warres in Ireland supported by Spaine wilbe the soner ended:

7° Traffic for the Queene and merchants reestablished to ther benefite:

8° The trade of Spain opened for bringing in money:

9° Her maiestie shall have a brething tyme to be better provided for all events:

10° It may be douted whether England & Low Countreys can suport the warres ther: supress the rebellion in Ireland, & to exploit somewhat in Spaine to werie the king: and force him to better condicions.

Essex *pro bello e contra*:

1° Spaine by intermission of expence wilbe aboundantlie enriched above al princes to ther daunger:

2° Spaine will nott sitt downe with so manie dishonours & therfore no sound peace, but ever will seke revenge:

3° By peace her maiestie must abandon those of Holland & Zeland without hope of rembursement of her money disbursed for ther ayd: or els deliver the Cautionary Townes to have her money of the King of Spaine: which is more dishonorable:

4° The province destitute of the Q^{s} ayd shalbe made vassels to Spaine: & he thereby inabled to offend the Queene at his will & disposition.

Replicatio pro pace:

Notandum primo quod rationes pro pace validæ sunt et subsistunt, nec indigent sublevamine: & the reasons for war are thus answered:

1° Altho Spaine be inriched by peace to annoy, England by like proporcion shalbe inriched & inabled to defend:

2° The unsureness of the peace, (which is the gretest doubt) yet it is likelie the peace shall contynew: for, 1° the warre hath ben more losse to him then to England: 2° it is like the error of councellors that perswaded the king to reduce the Low Countreys to other state then his father left them, is now seene or reformed & that he will be glad to enioy them in the same manner: & 3° for the honor of revenge, proef of impossibilitie to effect & then ever appease men's passions: 4° if the Low Countreys will not be

reduced by force in the meane tyme England shall gather manie advantages: also England & Fraunce united, as for politik respecte is likely they will, they shall ever be able to ballance the force of Spaine, altho he had the Low Countreys: which will not be in short time, as apereth by experience of emperor Charles, a prince of as great force & more reputacion then the king: & so England secured enoughe:

3° Touching the 3 obiecion, it wilbe no reason nor fit for her maiestie to deliver the Cautionary Townes, but she may leave the protecion of the Low Countreys with honor, for her ayd was till the might have of the king reasonable condicions for ther liberti as subjects & of ther consciences in religion: for which if she be a mediator for them & they utterlie refuse, she may with honor leave them to ther own defence.

And for the loss of monie it is not to be acompted loss that hath kept the enemy so long from amongst us: & if they become obedient to Spaine, he may assent to some order for our satisfacion: if they persist in warre her maiestie may think of some other meanes for her money:

4° For the 4th reason of warre, that the king wilbe more able to annoy us: it is like the Low Countreys will not in short tyme be reduced by force: in the meane tyme manie accidents will fall out: but if they be reduced by condicions of peace, they wilbe such as we shall not need to feare. for if the K. of Spain remove the army of straungers, both we & they shalbe the more secure: for the Low Countreys are like to desire the amiti of us for ther safetie: also liberti of religion being graunted, such as are so affected will have a dependency on the Queen & never be caried to any violent action against her: *quia communis necessitas facit communes amicos.* And whatsoever shalbecome of them, Fraunce & England being united, as they wilbe ever ocasioned, they shalbe a counterpoise for Spaine.

So as compare shortlie the reasons of peace & warre together:

1° The commodities of peace present, the daungers future:

2° The benefites of peace certen and sensible to be felt, the successe of warre incerten: & the suposed daunger of peace doth depend upon God & may be without daunger:

3° The peace hath in it as things now stand more of necessitie then the warre, therfor to be preferred:

4° The good of peace to redound to England: of the warre upon others:

5° Peace avoideth blodshed: & strengtheninge of Christendom against infidels: thinge agreable to God & men:

6° reasons of warre onlie humane by presumpcions of daungers future: wherof it is better to leave the dispensation to god, founding our actions upon the rules of conscience & common good of mankind, then upon our wills conceates & suspicions to contynew courses not commendable but only by necessitie:

the discourse it self was more enlarged.

Ultimo die termini mich. 1599: in le star-chamber le Sieur Keper invey vers insolent libellers et presumptuouse discoursers: & abrupte vel quasi obiter declare le grand expense de royne pur preservacion de Ireland (quel sa maiestie entend seriousment a preserver) et que royne ad exhauste 30000[1] in 7 mois: et le people la plus rebellious que fuit devant: issint sa treasure mispend: car Tyrone & toutz rebels ore sont plus prowd & presumptuous de lour force que fueront devant: entant que secretarie dit que Tyrone in une darraine parlee ove Sir William Warren, dit quil ad un grand hope ore daver un share in Angleterre: & sont plusves rebels ore que fueront in marche: et les sieurs recite toutz les enterprises del Count de Essex vers les rebels, in quex chescun plusves de subiects

On the last day of Michaelmas Term 1599, in the Star Chamber, the Lord Keeper inveighs against insolent libellers and presumptuous discoursers: then abruptly and as it were by the way declares the great expense to which the Queen is put for the preservation of Ireland (which her Majesty is thoroughly determined to preserve); and that the Queen has exhausted £30,000 in 7 months: and that the people are more rebellious than they ever were, and so her treasure is wasted: for Tyrone and all the rebels are prouder and more presumptuous of their power than they were before: so much so that the Secretary says that Tyrone, in a parley lately held with Sir William Warren,[1] said that he had good hope to have a portion in England: and that there are more rebels now than there were in

[1] Sir William Warren held a parley with Tyrone, at the Fort of the Blackwater, towards the end of September, 1599. (*Cal. S. P. Irel.*, 1599–1600, pp. 173–4.)

fueront occise que dez enimies: et ore tout le realme est fere al curtesie de rebels & revolt, par la negligence de governour qui ad comitt al royne errors & grand contemptes especialment in ceux pointz: viz:

1° Il etant commaund de marcher ove royall force vers rebels in Ulster in north, il (contra advise del counsell in Ireland) va ove petit army in Mounster: par que a divers skirmishes & ad le worse, al grief de subiects & encouragement de rebels: par que la province fuit infecte.

2° Il parle ove archtraitor Tyrone sur sute al rebel de parler ove lui, par que ils sont devenus insolent & la royne dishonore par cel private conference & dishonorable condicions, sicome sa diademe ad ete prise de luy: car ad fait ceo *precarium imperium*: & ad pro-

March.[1] The Lords also relate all the enterprises of the Earl of Essex against the rebels; in every one of which more of the Queen's subjects were slain than of the enemy: and that now the whole kingdom is at the disposal of the rebels and in revolt, owing to the negligence of the Governor, who has committed against the Queen errors and great contempts, especially in these points: viz.:

1° Being commanded to march with the Queen's army against the rebels in Ulster in the North, he (against the advice of the Council in Ireland) goes with a small force into Munster: and has divers skirmishes, wherein he has the worst, to the grief of all the Queen's subjects and the encouragement of the rebels; whereby the province is infected.

2° He holds a parley with the archtraitor Tyrone[2] at the suit of the rebels to confer with him, whereby they are become insolent, and the Queen dishonoured by this private conference and dishonourable conditions, as if her crown had been taken from her. For he

[1] Essex landed at Dublin April 14, 1599, and left Ireland September 24, 1599. A very clear account of Essex's brief span of office is given by Mr. E. G. Atkinson in the preface to the *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*, 1599–1600.

[2] Essex met Tyrone at the Ford of Bellaclynthe, near Drumcondra, on September 7, 1599 (*Cal. S. P. Irel.*, 1599–1600, p. 146).

mise de mover la royne pur tolerance in religion.

3° Le Counte ayant licence par letter de retorne a sa volunt: uncore ce fuit countermande par autre lettre et il prohibite sur son allegeance de resider in Ireland & de pursuivre Tyrone; tandis il a retorne in Angleterre contemptuose, & a relinquit le realm in grand perill: & sic tout le councell amplifie sur disgrace del dit counte, il estant absent, a son disgrace ou devant il fut repute tres haut tres noble & populer que unques fuit: *hoc audivi ab aliis.*

4 Dec 1599: evesque de Cashel grand polititian de Ireland, et de grand experience, ayant ete ore employ par royne de parler ove toutz rebels, forque Tyrone et defery a lui: et ayant plusors conferences ove Desmond in Tower et ove Royne divers foits: dit a moy

has made her rule to depend on entreaty: and has promised to approach the Queen to give toleration in religion.

3° The Earl having license by letter to return at his will, though this license had been countermanded by another letter ordering him on his allegiance to continue in Ireland and to pursue Tyrone; notwithstanding, has with contempt returned to England and has left the Kingdom of Ireland in great peril. And so the whole Council amplified on the disgrace of the Earl, he being absent on his disgrace, where before he was reputed most high, most noble, and popular as ever man was: this I heard from others.

4 Dec. 1599: the Bishop of Cashel,[1] a great Irish politician, and of great experience, being now employed by the Queen to treat with all the rebels save Tyrone and to report thereon to her; and having had several conferences with Desmond[2] in the Tower and with the

[1] See his letter to Cecil, dated November 15, 1599, at Westminster, offering his services to the Queen to go to Tyrone (*Cal. S. P. Irel.*, 1599–1600, p. 244); a Privy Council letter, dated December 2, 1599, informing the Lords Justices in Ireland that the Archbishop has Her Majesty's commission to confer with any rebels save Tyrone (*ibid.* 286–7); and the Archbishop's letter to Cecil, dated December 15, 1599, West Chester, where this plan is unfolded, but in less detail (*ibid.* 324–6).

[2] James Fitzgerald, the 'Tower Earl' of Desmond, for 16 years a prisoner in the Tower. In October 1600 he was sent by the Government to Ireland in the hope that the Geraldine faction would desert his rival the 'Sugan Earl' to rally round him as their genuine chief.

a son departure quil [a] licence de retorne a son plesure: et que son opinion est al royne et Sieur Montioy & Secretarie, viz. pour pacificacion de rebellion: que English soldiers ne unques poent performe ceo: experience ad ceo declare: mes le voy est par connyng instrumentz de mitter variance et sedicion inter eux memes: et despend parcel de tresure cel voy: et quil meme est le plus apt pilott pour cel matter: entant quil est de kynne, come il pretend, al Mcguire: et Mcguire est varlet al Odorherti: et il ad alliance et creditt ove Hugh Duff Odonell et ove Oboile quex deux ont emulacion al Odonell: auxi il est grandment trusted ove Tyrone qui ad (*ut dicitur*) proclaime luy *Protector Catholice Fidei*: et son adversaries sont Tirlagh Braselagh qui est fils al Con Onele ayel al Tyrone, auxi Sir Arthure Oneyle fils al darreyne Sir Tirlagh ONeale, et Fitz Shaen Oneyle: et de exciter ceux homes de mover hostilitie vers Tyrone est le sure voy de reformacion et poet estre ore plus facile, entant que Tyrone, sil ad fait tiel insolent parlee, est desperate sans hope de pardon: ou devant nul voile relinquie luy entant quil expect que Tyrone serra les primer que serra pardone, que ore nest issint: ergo ils voile

Queen at divers times; told me, on his departure, that he had license to return at his pleasure: and that his opinion expressed to the Queen, to Lord Mountjoy and to the Secretary, as regards the pacification of Ireland, is as follows, that English soldiers never can bring that to pass; experience has proved this. But the way is, by means of cunning instruments, to put variance and sedition between the Irish themselves; and in this way to spend a part of the Queen's treasure: and that he himself is the most apt pilot for this matter; in that he is of kin, as he alleges, with Maguire; and Maguire is a vassal of O'Dogherty: and he has alliance and credit with Hugh Duff O'Donnell and with O'Boyle, who are both the rivals of O'Donnell. Also he is greatly trusted by Tyrone, who has (as he says) proclaimed himself Protector of the Catholic Faith: and his adversaries are Tirlagh Breselagh who is the son of Con O'Neil, Tyrone's grandfather; and Sir Arthur O'Neil, son of the late Sir Tirlagh O'Neil, and FitzShaen O'Neil: and to stir up these men to move hostilities against Tyrone is the sure way towards reformation and can be now more easily effected, seeing that Tyrone, if he has held such such

forsak him: & purchaser favour de eux memes par service, especialment sil poent receve rewards: et 10,000 soldiers cel voy plus availe que 40,000 de Englois: et par force ou sedicion, le melior voy est de land homes soldiers al Loghfoile et il meme voile va ove eux destre instrument a mover Irishe de server vers Tyrone: come Ocane, Odoherti et auters: auxi il dit il scavoit plus de mynd de Tyrone et parle ove luy 1597, par commission: et il desire restitucion de traitors terres: et toleracion in religion pur tout Hiberniam: mais ned liberti de religion: mes destre dispunishable tanque sont couvert.

insolent parley, is desperate without hope of pardon: and where before no way was left them, seeing that they expected that Tyrone would be the first to be pardoned, it is not so now; therefore they are willing to forsake him and purchase favour for themselves by service, especially if they can receive rewards: and 10,000 soldiers this way avail more than 40,000 English. And by force or sedition the best way is to land soldiers at Lough Foile; and he himself is ready to go with them to be the instrument to move the Irish to serve against Tyrone, as O'Cahan, O'Dogherty, and others. Also he says that he knows most of Tyrone's mind and held parley with him in 1597 by commission: and Tyrone desires restitution of the traitor's lands, and toleration in religion for all Ireland, but not liberty of religious rites; but to be free from punishment so long as they refrain from open religious observance.

Lancaster dit a Tanfield *Memento quod mortalis es*: etc. Est apartenant al sieur keper daver sur taker.

Hel[1] pleder dit a sieur Chancelor: que sur son honesti conscience et science son allegacion fut voier: Lancaster respond quil travers touts: auterfoits il pledant dit que barganie fut *bona fide*: Lancaster pria court de granter *quo warranto* il parle latin: qui nad ete edoct ascun liberal science.

[1] Sir John Hele, of the Inner Temple: Serjeant 1594, and M.P. for Exeter 1592–1601; alleged to be 'drunken, insolent, and overbearing.'

Pyne[1] dit quil ne voile deliver la ley direct entant que un client sound sur counsens que son cause fut male :

Le comendacion pour royne : quel est paragon de princes : mirrhor des magistrates : admiracion a son sex : et wonder al Europe : *propugnatrix fidei.*

Ratclief dit que de vender bottle ale est le safe et spedi voie destre rich.

Contencion devant evesque de Chester[2] enter Sir Georg Beston[3] & Mr. Harvy[4] precher de Bunbury pur removing de pulpit : et Harvy excuse ceo, disant il prit cold in le pulpit pur ceo state *inter dua ostia* Beston replie 'By God, my lord, this is an idle excuse : for it was never hard that a zelous precher ever toke cold in the pulpit.'

Le royne Julii 42 regni : ad une Italian discourse le quel conteyne mil auter : forque que un magnifico in Italie ad mise un servant ove 10 chivals et 100 ova, de divers kinds, ostrech egges : egles egges, swannes egges, gese, ducks, hennes & birds egges : et quant il trove maried home que nest rule par sa feme : il donnera luy cheval : et quant il trove ascun rule par sa feme il donnera luy grand ou petit egges : acordant al supremaci de feme : et il a dispose toutz ses egges devant un cheval : al darraine apres prolixe serche il trove un disordered home nient guide par sa feme a qui il offer la choix de ses chevals : il elect gray chival, sa feme dit 'Husband, the horse with bald face is the better horse' : il mainteine son primer elecion : sa feme reioyne al contrari : et al fine prevaile issint husband desire le bald face horse : et fuit deny entant quil fut advise par sa feme.

16 *Aug* : 1600 : Wilbraham's answare being master of requests to the oration of Mr. Altham his old chamber fellowe a most lerned Reader in Graies Inn, upon 27 Eliz : ca : of errors :[5] 'Mr. Reader, the admiracion of vertue hath so depe an impression in

[1] John Pyne, Reader, Lincoln's Inn, 1596 (Dugdale's *Orig. Jurid.* p. 254).

[2] Richard Vaughan, 1597–1604.

[3] Sir George Beeston's monument is in Bunbury Church (Ormerod's *Hist. of Cheshire*, vol. ii. p. 263, 2nd edition).

[4] Christopher Harvey, Vicar of Bunbury, 1594–1601 (Ormerod's *Hist. of Cheshire*, vol. ii. p. 260). Bunbury was a parish in which the Puritans were very strong (*ibid.* p. 259).

[5] 27 Eliz. ca. 9 : An Act for Reformation of Errors in Fines and Recoveries &c.

nature, as filosophers do conclude, we are enforced thereby, to love those whom we never sawe, by which you may easelie coniecture with what unfained affecion we have observed you during all the tyme of your reading, which in the opinion of us all you have performed to your exceding comendacion.

'For to speke particulerlie you are the first that adventured to make a breche into this statute, which affordeth verie necessarie lerning for the practize of the lawe, especiallie in the use of pleding aknowledg worthiest to be embraced of all suche as desire to march under the ensigne of pleders. To this center you have drawen as a circumference a collecion of manie profitable question[s] of experience at the common lawe, wherein you have manifested your generall studie in all the partes of the lawe, your faithful observacion of the unprinted iudgments, your iudiciall conceates in the apt composing & lerned debating of your cases, having fixed every one of your owne rare invencions to the authoritie of some authentik & firme iudgment.

'Herin we are to acknowledg your wonderfull diligence, wherof as my self being 6 yeres your chamber fellow was an ey witnesse: so god hath geven you such fruite therof in your publik practize: as that by the best testimonie in our lawe you are consigned with the title of a lerned councellor, whereby hath redounded great honour to our societie & profitt & reputacion to your self:

'Howbeit these graces I do not attribute to your lerning alone: your faithfull diligence in your clients causes, your temperate cariage in pleding, your discrete moderacion in all other your actions, by which your learning hath receved her true lustre and resplendencie, doe assuredlie promise that if you contynew in the true feare of god, & the sincere performance of your dutie in your peculiar vocacion: we shall see in short tyme his manifold blessinges infinitelie multiplied upon you to the comfort and incoragement of such as follow the same profession.

'To be short in the name of the societie I render unto you our hartiest thankfullnes, for your liberall expenses and your exceading love & paynes expressed in this exercise, wishing that as the same hath ben a loadestone to draw our attendance, so you may be a loadstarre to exalte us to the imitacion of your rare vertues: and so I conclude, out of my peculiar love, with the poet:'

[T] *bone quo virtus tua te vocat; i pede fausto.*

Peroratio si amplificata.

Tu regere imperio populos, Regina, memento:
Hae tibi artes erunt pacisque imponere morem.

The Printer was a loser by his first impression of Rables: then he caused a precher in his sermon to inveigh against the vanitie therof: since which it hath ben 6 tymes under presse: so much it was in request.

Yong Christopher Swifte refused a challeng of old Sir Georg Beston: saying he wold not geve Beston so much advantage to venture, a lief of 60 yeres to Beston's of three yeres.[1] The amner[2] in his sermon upon the Queen's nativiti day, said, her health is our solace: her ioy our tryumphe: her lief our preservacion: for if she grieve we morne: if she be sick we languish: if she dye we perishe.

14 *Jan*: 1600[3] ieo fui present al councell ou tres graund consultacion fuit pur abasement de coyne pour Ireland: issint que lexpences le roy in vanquishant les traitors poet estre contynewe:

primo fuit agree que embasement de coyne inhaunce le price de touts merchandize, foren especiall: et auxi de vittails et touts auters choses:

2°. Fuit agree que soldier que receve ce paie serra distresse et discontent:

3°. Que ce induce barbarisme et idlenes in ce realme: come

14 *Jan.* 1600. I was present at the Council, where there was great consultation touching the debasement of the Irish coin: in order that the expenses of the Queen in vanquishing the traitors may be maintained.

First it was agreed that debasement[4] of coin enhances the price of all merchandise, especially foreign merchandise: and also of victuals and everything else.

2. It was agreed that soldiers receiving their pay in debased coin will be distressed and discontented.

3. That this causes barbarism and idleness in this realme: as

[1] Sir George Beeston died in 1601, aged 102 (see his monument in Bunbury Church as given by Ormerod in his *History of Cheshire*, vol. ii. p. 263).

[2] Dr. Anthony Watson, bishop of Chichester, appointed Queen's Almoner about 1595. (*Dic. Nat. Bio.*)

[3] 1601.

[4] For a summary of this policy of debasing the Irish coinage, see Gard. *Hist.* vol. i. p. 365.

fut devant le coyne refine: car nul artificer fuit fere in Ireland devant:

4°. Ore vient in question et fere resolue par touts que le auncients coigns doent estre descrie, et disanul par proclamation: ou auterment ceo base coyne ne serra regard ne accept in contracts:

5°. Donque fere resolue que le auncient standerd dengleterre fuit que pur un pound weight de silver serra 12 ounces: dont 11 ounces et 2^{d} weight serra pure: et lauter 18^{d} weight serra de alloy: et que temps E 3: xxd fuit un ounce de silver: mes apres temps H 8: fuit semel raise al 2^{s} 6^{d} le ounce par proclamation: et sic par proclamation estre par degrees raise al v*s* le ounce weight:

6°. Il semble que franktenants quex ont terres in demesne, ou terres dont ils poent improve les rents, ne serra damnifie mult par abasement: pur ceo ils poent doble et treble lour rents. Mes pensioners, captens, soldiers, et touts quex vivent sur certen rents serra grandement damnifie, et mult discontent:

7°. Ils agree que si ascun course deschaunge poet etre

was the case before the coin was reformed: for there was no artificer in Ireland before that time.

4. Then the question arose, and it was resolved by all that the old coin must be decried and disannulled by proclamation; or otherwise that base coin will not be regarded or accepted in contracts.

5. Then it was resolved that the ancient standard of England was that in one pound weight of silver there should be twelve ounces: whereof 11 oz. 2 dwt. should be pure and the remaining 18 dwt. should be alloy: and that in the reign of Edward III the value of one ounce of silver was 1*s*. 8*d*., but afterwards in the reign of Henry VIII the value of the ounce was raised, at first, to 2*s*. 6*d*., by proclamation: and so to be raised by degrees by proclamation to 5*s*. the ounce.

6. It seems that freedholders who have lands in demesne, or lands whereof they can raise the rent, will not suffer much harm by the debasement, because they can double and treble their rents; but pensioners, officers, soldiers, and all who live by certain rents will be greatly harmed and exceedingly discontented.

7. They agree that if any system of exchange can be

que soldiers serra releve, et rebels sustendera le losse dabasement ceo hasten le peace, par lour povertie: al fine semble destre resolue par touts que ob: & 1^{d} serra coyne de basse metall tout ousterment: et que 3^{d} vi^{d} et xii^{d} serra coine de 3 ounces fine et 9 ounces alloy: issint que serra 3 parts base et 4 part pure: et que novel stampe serra devise, a coyner 100,000 pour service de Ireland *tantum*: et que touts auters coynes la currant serra decry, et disanul: issint que tout retorner in Engleterre:

Et donque Tresorer de Ireland promise que ascun merchants undertake de aver eschaunge de donner a chescun soldier ou subiect, sterling pur ceo base Irishe: pur 2^{s} in 20^{s} losse in exchaunge: et ceo il performe sans damag al royne plus que 50,000 [1]: car cy tost que ce vient destre eschaunge, il voile utter ceo al army arere: et sic il uttera ceo sans losse ouster 50,000 *initio*.

In ce case devant un caution doet etre que nul counterfett ce base coyne: et par ce voi le

effected, so that the soldiers shall be relieved and the rebels bear the loss occasioned by the debasement of the coin, it will hasten peace by reason of the poverty of the rebels. In conclusion it seems to be resolved by all that the penny and halfpenny shall be coins of base metal entirely, and threepences, sixpences, and shillings shall be coined, whereof three ounces shall be pure and nine ounces alloy; so that there be three parts base and the fourth part pure; and that a new stamp shall be devised to coin 100,000 for the service of Ireland only: and that all other coins current there shall be decried and disannulled, so that all shall return to England.

And then the Treasurer of Ireland promises that some merchants shall undertake to provide exchange to each soldier or subject, sterling for debased Irish coin, at a loss of two shillings for every pound in exchange: and that he will effect this without loss to the Queen, saving one of £50,000: for as soon as the debased Irish coin comes to be exchanged he will issue it back again to the army: and so he will issue it without loss, saving the £50,000 in the first instance.

In this case precaution must first be taken that no one shall counterfeit this debased coin:

royne doet eschaung infinite somes a son detriment: et par case serra bone sur chescun issue daver bill endented et sic de reprender ce par eschaunge, par que le rebell serra prevent.

Eschange est devise (come apiert in *statuts de money* temps E. 3, et par que eschaung fuit pur bullion daver silver et pur un coyne daver auter:) que ceux de Ireland que aport baze coyne aver sterling in Angleterre, ove losse de 2^{s} in 20^{s}: et ceux quex deliver bone coyne in Ireland aver baze la et le 7 part plus: come 23^{s} 4^{d} pour 20^{s} bone silver: et uncore par le doble treble et sextible uttering de base in Ireland (plus que lauter eschaunge desire al benefite de subiect) la royne gainira multe: *vide* Rastel, *titulo Eschaunge*. 25 E. 3 ca. 12: 14 R. 2 ca. 2. et 3 H. 7 ca. 6, eschaunges forbidden but by the King's license & officers: which semes foren eschaunges.

5 E. 6 ca. 19 *ibid*: no man

and thus the Queen should have to exchange infinite sums to her detriment: and perhaps it will be a good plan on each issue to have an indented bill, and so to take the bill back again in exchange: and in this way the rebels will be prevented.

Exchange was devised, as it appears, by a statute relating to money in the reign of Edward III, whereby exchange was to afford silver for bullion: and for one coin to have another: that those of Ireland who brought debased coin should have sterling in England, at a loss of two shillings in the pound: and those who deliver good coin in Ireland should have debased coin there and a one seventh in addition: for instance 23*s*. 4*d*. for 20*s*. good silver: and yet by the double treble and sextuple issue of debased coin in Ireland (more than the other exchange desires with benefit to the subject) the Queen will gain much. See Rastall, title 'Exchange.'[1] 25 Edward III ca. 12, 14 Ric. II ca. 2, and 3 Henry VII ca. 6, forbids exchange unless by the King's license, and through his officers; this seems to refer only to foreign exchange.

5 Edward VI. ca. 19 *ibid.*: no

[1] William Rastall, J.Q.B. 1558–1562. The references are to his collection of all the statutes from *Magna Charta* to *1, Elisabeth*, arranged under their subjects in alphabetical order.

shall take for eschaunge of gold for silver any profitt, above the rate, *pena* forfeture :

19 Henry 7 : ca. 5, R. *money* 45 : nul argent doet etre cary dengleterre al Ireland : nec de Ireland al Ingland *pena* forfeture.

Temps E. 3, etc : divers statutes quex prohibit transportacion de ascun silver, gold, bullion, plate, hors de realme : et ascun statute prohibite que nul serra port transmare in Engleterre : semble le reason fuit pur ceo notre coyne fuit plus pure que lauter.

Auxi apiert par statute E. 3 : que Galli halfpence et Scottishe coyne fuit abase in lour price in Engleterre de temps in temps come le coyne fuit abase in puritie in Engleterre.

man shall take, in exchanging gold for silver, any profit above the lawful rate, under pain of forfeiture.

19 Henry VII. ca. 5, Rastall, 'Money,' 45. No silver is to be carried from England to Ireland or from Ireland to England under pain of forfeiture. *Temp.* Edward III. etc. : divers statutes which prohibit transportation of any silver, gold, bullion or plate out of the realm : and some statutes ordain that no one shall bring coin over sea to England. The reason for this seems to be that our coin was purer than other coin.

Also it appears by a statute of Edward III. that Galley-halfpennies and Scotch coin were debased in their value in England from time to time, as the coin was debased in purity in England.

Parliament terme Mich. 43 et 44 R^ae^ fuit dissolve 19 Dec. 1601.[1]

Crook recorder de Londres apres que la royne fuit in sa royal throne, fuit conduct al barre par 2 councellors de lower howse : & apres 3 humble congees & silence, il fit oration a cel effect.

'Most sacred prince & renowned soveraigne : man cannot live without societie, no societie can contynew without order, no order without lawes which are the bonds & ornaments of all societie.

'The highest above all lawes and law makers first ingraved lawes in man's harte to discerne good from evell, to embrace the one & eschew the other : after when vice increased lawes were

[1] In the Reports of Townshend (pp. 149–151) and D'Ewes (pp. 618–9) the speeches of the Speaker and the Lord Keeper are far less fully given than here, while the Queen's speech is entirely omitted.

ordeined to protect the good & correct the evell. But sithence the mutabilitie of all thinges had predominance in men's actions, the lawes established must be varied & made aplicable to the infinite diversitie of circumstances.' In lawes & government he said religion was *primum, secundum & tercium*: & that all her maiestie's lawes (according to the divine inspiracion of her sacred spirite) tended evermore to the establishment of sincere religion, wherein her royall hart was firmely fixed: & therfore no doubt but wold fructifie to her immortal praise & the prosperitie of her people.

2°. Secondlie, he declared that the Lords & Commons assembled had considered of divers publik & private lawes, which now gaspe for brethe from your all powerfull Maiestie who onlie can geve them lief. Her maiestie's lawes are the limbes of iustice tending to the continuance of our happie peace: & it maie not be said of them, *Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas*: he praised our happie peace & praied we might long enjoy it under her.

3°. Thirdlie he shewed that an honorable councellor, member of the lower howse, had declared to them that Spaine & Rome had conspired against her Maiestie his annointed & absolved them of Ireland from allegeance & thundred all possible threates against such as persisted in ther loyaltie: they had sent wolves amongst her Maiestie's subiects, some like lions in force of armes to compell, some like lammes by pretence of puritie of religion which was idolatrie to seduce them from ther due obedience.

But ther curses shall retorne upon themselves & they shalbe intrapped in ther owne snares; for god will ever preserve his anointed because her royall hart hathe never started from his holy hestes: for the better preparacion against these cruell foes, the Lords & Commons considering the great charges exhausted in the iust defence of her people have most humblie & willinglie (& then made low conges) presented to her maiestie 4 subsidies & 8 fiftenths & tenths, in token of there zelous hart (tho not equall to the charges), who are evermore redi to sprink[illegible] ther hart bloude in their enimies faces, for the service of her maiestie.

4°. He rendred all humble thanks for her maiestie's most ample gracious and free pardon, commending her iustice to be admirable, so her mercy to be most renowned and magnified to all posteritie: lastlie he craved pardon, for his weeknes, infirmitie & oversights,

especiallie in his defections, relating to the howse her maiestie's gracious favours espressed by her towards them in such divine & supernaturall manner, as his weeknes could not undergo so high & weighti a charge: but desired upon his knees that *voluntas reputabitur pro facto*: & so ended.

The Lord Keeper called to the Queen: & she delivered him in secret charge what to answere: who retorning to his place said to this effect (both orations held about one howre & no more:)

'Mr. Speaker the Q^s^ most excellent Maiestie hath hard & considered your grave & lerned speche, & commanded me to signifie her gracious pleasure to ech part of your spech, a charge to hevi for me to undergoe.

'Touching the first part of your spech concerning the praise & necessitie of lawes, her Maiestie geveth all approbacion: especiallie in your conclusion wher you acknowledge that therin & in all her government she hath evermore knitt them to sinceritie of religion: for without that she disdaines all praise of other vertues, *quæ splendescunt subtilitate & franguntur vanitate.*

'Touching your lawes made, she findes more private lawes than publick: whereby the charge imposed in the begyning of parliament hath not ben observed: & tyme might better have ben spent in publick, but therein she notes private respects are carried in publick affairs which ought not to be.

'Concerning your 4 subsidies & 8 fiftenth & x^ths^, presented for the warres, she acknowledges the loving bountie of her subiects to be extraordinarie: but the like cause of expense of treasure was never before: & her maiestie doth take the manner of free geving without grudging, & to be geven in the beginning of the parliament, as thankfullie as the gifte: & tho she accept it as a gift to herself, yet she requireth you & all her subiects to knowe that she hath never ben gredie gryper nor covetous keper, contemning ever more welth without honor: this bountie of her subiects is not to spare or supplie her royall expenses, but in part of the charges bestowed for ther defence, whereof her maiestie is so dearlie affectionate, that she hath sold & doth still sell of her auncient inheritance for the defence of her so liberall & loving subiects; & this subsidie her maiestie challengeth no use or propertie but the troble of distribucion: & sithence her maiestie is so graciouslie thankfull for the subsidie, she expecteth that the Lords & Commons will show example from themselves of iust

taxacion: & so by example excite others that it maie be as large in deeds as in wordes:

'Her maiestie geveth you all great thanks for your discret carriage in debate of your councells in this parliament: & in especiall because in every occurrance that aymed at her prerogative, which she preserveth to the good of her subiects & the offence of none, you preserved the same by petition to her sacred person: obedience better then sacrifice: she nedeth non that cannot obey as of law: Essex.

'Her maiestie hath graunted them a gracious and liberall pardon: & she well understandeth what she hath geven and remitted them, whereby her bountie is more to be honored: her sword of Justice never shineth more then oyled with mercy.

'And lastlie to you Mr. Speker she not onlie thinketh you worthy of pardon but geveth you great thanks for your wise & discret cariage: acknowledging your deserts equal with any your predecessors.'

All charged to repaire to the countrey & not to winter in London like butterflies spend summer abrod: that the Justices of peace be vigilant & not drones, nor quarelous champertors.

The Parliament being dissolved & ech one redie to depart without further expectacion as the manner is, the Queen's Maiestie raised herself out of her royal seate & made a short, pithie, eloquent & comfortable spech somewhat to this effect:[1] for besides I could not well heare all she spake, the grace of pronunciacion & of her apt & refined wordes so lernedlie composed did ravish the sense of the herers with such admiracion as every new sentence made me half forget the precedents.

'My Lords, we have thought it expedient in this general

[1] This fine speech of the Queen is not even mentioned in the Parliamentary Reports, nor have I been able to find any report of it elsewhere. Carleton, however, in a letter dated London, December 29, 1601, to Chamberlain, writes: 'The Parliament ended on Saturday seven night. I was present as a burgess, and heard good counter-clawing and interchangeable flattery between the Speaker and my Lord Keeper in behalf of the Queen. The Queen concluded all with a long speech, which was much commended by all those who heard her: the Bishop of Durham told me he had never heard her in a better vein.' (*S. P. Dom.*, 1601–3, p. 184.)

assemblie to lett you know out of our owne mouth the unfayned attestacion of our hart.

'First we humblie acknowledg the innumerable & unspekable benefits of Almighty God for our miraculous preservacion from the traitorous practises of miscreant subiects who, designed thereto by foren enimies, have sought by taking away our lief, (which we are ever most willing to render up to him that gave it) have sought therby to bring our people & kingdome, (being farre more deare to us then our owne lief) into perpetuall thraldome & foren tiranie.

'And to saie the truthe ther have ben so manie & divers stratagems & malicious practises & devises to surprise us of our lief, as in recording therof I am forced to recognize the mercyes & omnipotencie of the eternall God, by whose providence I have escaped all ther snares, & some of the malefactors sentenced to perpetuall shame & deserved punishment.

'The nomber of these wicked complotters, the severall manners of undertaking therof, & how some of them were discovered before the came to ther ripenes, other brought forth abortive, some others even in ther full maturitie extinguished, it were to small purpose particulerlie now to recount; ther be divers gentlemen our ministers that can redelie testifie the truthe & circumstances hereof. Our purpose onlie is to acknowledge our constant & irremovable dependencie upon his mercyes by whose goodnes we that trust ever in him have ever ben preserved.

'Next you shall understand that touching our civill government, sithence the begyning of our raigne, in all causes we have undertaken to heare & determyne, our hart hath ben as a playne table redie to receave any impression: so most willing to heare the allegacions of ech partie, yet evermore inclining our sentence to the sinceritie of proef & soundnes of reason.

'Touching our affaires with foren princes I must discover some things not knowen to many, and those of our Councell in the secrecy of our state. In the begyning of our raigne those of the Low Countreys presented manie peticions to us & our neighbour princes to be protected against inquisitioners of Spaine & other opresions not sufferable, wherein we remembering the auncient amytie between our predecessors & the howse of Burgundie, & knowing how farre Spaine was remote from the Low Countreys & fearing his soldiers revolt ther for want, sent pay to them to conteyne them,

& advertised the King of Spaine, by twelve persons severallie at the lest: that if he did not loose the raigne in easing the Lowe Countreys from ther over hevi burdens, they were redie & likelie to seek their protecion from other foren princes to his harme & dishonor. But this potent prince, (whose sowle I trust is with God, howsoever his demerites have bene towards us) not regarding our advise, continued still in extremities: which forced those people to seek & sue for our protecion by manie peticions, & in ther owne wisdome finding our inclination inseparablie knitt to contynew the former amitie with Spaine, they shewed us the severall instruments wherby the king & the emperor his father were sworn (a strange oath for kinges) that if those subiects did not enioy the ymmunities therin promised them the might lawfullie seek protecion of any other prince: exciting us out of our compassionate disposicion to relieve ther knowen extremities. Upon which we graunted them some defence, onlie till by our mediacion or process of tyme some moderacion might be founde, which we thought was required in christianiti & yet no brech of amitie: but the late king (before this) in recompense of our princelie kindnes towards him in our former advertisement & lones, excited a daungerouse rebellion in the north by the earles of Northumberland & Westmoreland, which being quicklie & happelie extinguished, he still contynewed all malicious courses, I neede not say of attemptes of invacion but the invacion it self which by God's potencie was defeated. And now the yong king [1] following his father in malice will begynne it semes warre upon us: when it is well knowen that we have often refused the resignacion of the Low Countreys (which the Archduke hath) into our protecion, (a great temptacion to any prince to be soveraigne over so rich a people) being led therto by a desire not to infringe in any point that former amitie, & especiallie desiring an established prosperitie & peace to our people rather then any enlargement to our owne honour. This we speak to lett you & all others knowe this warre is causeless, not drawen upon us by anie provocacion of ours, but a rashe enterprise, proceding of malice or vaine glorie: wherby as we nothing feare, so lett no man doubt but that the iustice & omnipotence of God is such, that in every warre he geveth victorie to the innocent, & fighteth evermore for those that sincerelie serve him: upon which confidence we may

[1] Philip III. became king in 1598; in 1601 he was twenty-three years of age.

repose our selves in corage & alacritie, whatsoever be practized against us. Concerning our affecion to our people, it is our happiest felecitie & most inward ioy, that no prince ever governed a more faithfull valiant & loving people: whose peace & prosperitie we evermore preferre before all temporall blessinges: & be you well assured whether we mak peace or warre, the good of our people shalbe evermore preferred therin. We never attempted any thinge to damage or dishonour our people & tho we may not attribute merites to our owne witt in chosing out the safest harbour for us all to ancor at: yet the finger of God, directing the actions of all princes that sincerely serve him, & our long lived experience, tho in a meane witt, shall mak us able to discerne & embrace that which shall tend to the prosperitie of our people: to whom I wishe, that they that wishe them best may never wishe in vain.'

In the upper parliament hangings, amongest other emblems, the embleme of raging love is sett in the arays with these 2 verses:

Cura placens, predulce malum, tristisque voluptas:
Heu vesana furens pectora vexat amor.

26 *Jan.* 1601: her majestie commaunded me to deliver this message to the lord Maior[1]: first she marveled he did not proceade with the erecion of an hospitall for relief of pore at 300*l.* *per annum*, entended & agreed on by his predecessor: secondlie requiring him to cause restraint of the vagarant roagues about London: & to retorne his private answare.

His Lordship, 27 *Jan.* 1601; desired me retorne this answare to the first: that the aldermen denied anie such conclusion to have ben: & that latelie at the instance of the chief Justice, his Lordship & the aldermen had labored therin, but could not perswade it by reason of other great charges happening of late which yet are not collected: namelie 4,000*l.* paid for 2 gallies, 18 soldiers (*sic*) sent to Ostend, others to Ireland: that Bridewell geven to so good a purpose by E. 6, was now made a prison & so spent much that way: & that Surrey & Middlesex, for whom this relief was chieflie, should provide for ther owne.

To the second: he said he found the constables & sidemen negligent, & he confessed the fault of his remisenes but it should

[1] Robert Lee.

be redressed: onlie he found the pore so manie & distressed that some convenience must be for begars or els they wold starve.

Wilbraham's spech being Master of Requests to seriant Pelham for his farewell in Graies Inne hall, *Nov*: 1601: being called seriant to thentent to be Chief baron in Ireland: & in answare to the seriant.

'Mr. Seriant we do all excedinglie reioice to see vertue is worthelie honored, in a gentleman so beloved in this societie.

'Your humble recognizion to her Maiestie that so graciouslie hath called you to this preferment doth argue to the world that being so unfainedlie thankfull to acknowledg, you wilbe seriouslie intentive to deserve this highe favor.

'For your gratefull ennumeracion of benefitz ascribed to this societie, we cannot but commend your humilitie being the proper ensigne to all your vertues, & embrace your love out of our best affecions, promising that as your advauncement hath geven honor to our felowship, so shall our assistance be evermore redie to improve your fortunes.

'God graunt that this your dignitie raised out of vertue, may be a day dawning starre to geve light & example to others by like desert to mount into the same sphere.

'It were presumpcion to advise you in any thing: yet we in kindnes of good will may entreate you to call to mynd that in this plentifull harvest of pleders you are selected to the highest dignitie incident to your calling. Remember therfore you are placed as a probacioner in an open theatre to this end that if by publick triall you shall aprove & as I hope increse the opinion of your lerning & sinceritie in this ministeriall function: you may heareafter be advaunced to magistracie of weightie imployment for the service of your prince & good of your countrey.

'Forgett not then these short memorialls: first that the grace procedeth from God, the bountie from a soveraign prince, the meanes hath ben the comendacion of frends: but the merite hath growen out of your owne vertues.

'Therfore to conclude, be you of good corage, put on in God's name all sailes, & now shew your self a circumspect pilott. We will wish you evermore a prosperous wynd, & that the haven which is in your kennyng may prove a happie harbour for you to ancor at: *finis*.' [After in *Aug*. he was chosen Chief baron for Ireland.]

24 *Maii*, 1602 : the Lords of Councell falling in spech of the great exhaust of 180,000*l.*, these last 7 yeres warres, & that the charge now was of Irish warres, being 19,000, viz. nynteene thowsand in pay was 400,000*l.*[1] *per annum*, & that the treasure & men of England being wasted, it was not to be endured : & that potts & pewter were selling amongest the pore for this present subsidie.

The Lords seemed to agree it was the Irish warres had impoverished England, & not the warres of Spain or Low Countreys : & if the Queen had the treasure spent in Ireland they all agreed we should contynew warre with Spaine.

They all agreed the Low Countreys will never become subiects, to Spaine or Fraunce or any other : but will maynteyne a contynuall warre. And therein are able by strength of the fortificacions & townes to werie Spaine & Fraunce : with our ayd of men especiallie.

They also agree that we may not with any safetye suffer Spaine or the Arch Duke to be absolute in the Low Countreys : for therby our daunger were farre more.

That point excepted if we might contynewe amitie with the Low Countreys, peace with Spaine were to be embraced : *rebus sic stantibus*.

But they were devided touching peace to be moved by us with Spaine : for the Lord Tresurer said, the warre in the Low Countreys was not to end the cause but a lingering warre to waste us & them : & that it was fittest to have peace with Spaine before we be to farre spent : for he hath a spring that yeldeth contynuall supplie, his Indies : & we are like a standing water, which warre will exhaust & mak drie & barren : & the maintenance of those rebels is to wast England : & wished a tretie but wold desparre the execution (?) now for ever.

The Lord Admirall Mr. Controller[2] & Mr. Secretarie *contra*, first to be moved by us were her maiestie's dishonor, yet they wold be content a treatie might be moved from them : some good might arize by gayning tyme.

[1] A list of the army as it stood on January 1, 1603, gives a total of 13,100 men (*Cal. of State Papers, Carew*, 1601-3, pp. 396-8) ; while in a statement bearing date March 31, 1602, from the 'Treasurers' accounts,' the entertainment of the army in Ireland from April 1, 1601, to March 31, 1602, 'The Lord Mountjoy being Lord Deputy,' amounts to 322,502*l.* 0*s.* 1½*d.* (*ibid.* p. 504).

[2] Sir William Knollys, to Dec. 1602 (*S. P. Dom.* 1601-3, p. 271).

Secondlie ther is no amitie firme amongest princes but as serves ther common weales, wherof they have government: & therfore Spaine & Fraunce are now in no better termes almost, but as before the peace.

Thirdlie no safetie to have peace with Spaine, for that the Enfanta makes title of succession.

Lastlie & chieflie if we should conclude peace with Spaine all agree we must secretlie ayd the Lowe Countreys against them: in requitall whereof they have & will ayd the rebels in Ireland: so the peace of no availe to us: if we have such warres in Ireland, we weare as good to have it with Spaine: but if peace were with the rebels ther, (as M^r^ Secretarie said every good councellor wold advise) then wold our condicions of peace with Spaine be more honorable & beneficiall.

But the Lord Tresurer replyed that if an outward peace were with Spaine, the rebels wold submitt themselves to any condicions: & tho the peace break after, we should gaine advantage of tyme & treasure, the wast wherof is unsupportable.

The Lord Keper, Erle of Worcester & M^r^ Secretarie Herbert were silent all this round disputacion: & so they rose from the table, non wayting ther but myself & M^r^ Wade:[1] some say we take no harm by some warre, to wast idle: *quaere hic antea*, reasons *utrinque* for warre or peace.

29 *Aug.* 1602: At the court at Otelands: the lord Ever,[2] secretarie Herbert, doctor Dun,[3] sworne late Master of Requests for this service, & M^r^ Leasure,[4] did tak the leave of the Queen: & at the councell table (they being ambassadors for Denmark) ther were read & delivered to them certen provisional instrucions to treat with the Emperour (if he desired it) as was suposed, touching

[1] Clerk of the Council.

[2] Ralph, third Lord Eure or Evre, Vice-President of the Council of the North (*S. P. Dom.* 1601–3, p. 155).

[3] Sir David Dun or Donne.

[4] Sir Stephen Le Sieur. On June 17, 1603, payment is made out of the Exchequer to 'Master Stephen Le Sieur,' lately sent as assistant to the ambassadors of her late Majesty on a mission to the King of Denmark (Devon's *Exchequer Issues*, p. 3). He was knighted in 1608 (Metcalfe's *Book of Knights*, p. 159), and naturalised in 1624 (*Statutes at Large*, 21 James I., Private Acts, Table of Contents; see also *Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

our commerce within his territories, & the reallowing the liberties of the Hans Townes, within England.[1]

The somme is: first, they to have fredome, as English, to transport woll & cloth the chief trade to the Empire onlie: & to bring ther countrey commodities to us as free as English: but if the bring foren commodities, to pay custome as strangers: & to have the Stilliard howse allotted to them: as it hath ben.

And we *contra* to have some citie in Germaine for our merchants to trade our wolle & clothe to: being as is agreed the welth of England.

But note M^r^ Secretarie Cecyll hath divers treaties wherby H. 7, after King E. 6, Q. Marie, disanulled the great liberties of the Hans Townes in England: for that they colored stranger's goods: & by merchandizing our cloth into the Low Countreys deprived the gaine of our merchants: but the liberties in part were regraunted by her maiestie: & after, upon ther abuses, resumed & they sent away: & this hoped colloquie may renew the amitie & intercourse of traffick to the good of them both.

Sieur ch. Justice dit a moy, que in Condons case, doubtfull subiect de Ireland, pollicie fuit que S^r^ Tresorer serra adverse a son sute pur restitucion de son terre attaint: & s^r^ chauncelor serra pur luy: et doctor Swale, un mynion al dit chauncelor Hatton, dit a moy que fuit pollicie que sieur chauncelor serra adverse a S^r^ John Perrot: et sieur Tresorer pur luy ut amy pur faire luy daver iustice: et

The Lord Chief Justice told me that in Condon's[2] case, an Irish subject whose loyalty was in suspicion, the plan was that the Lord Treasurer should be opposed to his suit for the restitution of his attainted land, and the Lord Chancellor for him. And Dr. Swale,[3] a creature of the said Chancellor Hatton, told me that the plan was that the Lord Chancellor should be opposed to Sir John Perrot,[4] and

[1] For this embassy see *S. P. Dom.* 1601–3, p. 246, Chamberlain to Carleton.

[2] *Vide ante*, p. 24.

[3] Richard Swale, civilian, President of Caius College, Cambridge, appointed in 1587 a Master of Chancery through the influence of Sir Christopher Hatton, who is said to have relied on his legal knowledge for guidance in the discharge of his duties as Lord Chancellor. (*Dict. Nat. Bio.*)

[4] Lord Deputy of Ireland 1584–91. Recalled and tried for high treason, he was

tamen ils entend un fyne, que loffender aver son desert.

the Lord Treasurer for him as a friend desirous to gain him justice; and yet it was understood between them that there should be a fine and the offender was to meet with his deserts.

Episcopus London, *camera stellata*: *febr.* 1602, dit que sur examinacion de Jesuitz & seculer priestz, ils confesse periurie destre allowe pur catholicks in Angleterre: quia dicunt quod papa Pius Quintus excommunicavit Reginam Elizabeth: par que toutz ses magistrates & lour authoritie sont adnihilate; et donques lour text est: *Juramentum coram iudice non competente non obligat*: sic il dit ils teyne destre loyall pur catholiks de cosen toutz protestantz de lour bargaines & dettry.

The Bishop of London, in the Star Chamber, February 160⅔, said that Jesuits and secular priests confessed, on examination, that perjury was lawful for Catholics in England, because they say that Pope Pius V. has excommunicated Queen Elizabeth; and so all her magistrates and their authority are annihilated. And their text is, an oath taken before a judge illegally appointed is not binding: so he says they hold it lawful for Catholics to cozen all Protestants in bargains and debts.

Auxi apiert que evesque London par advize Councell, et come il dit a moi, de secretarie especialment, ad travaile de faire discord enter Jesuitz & seculer priest: par que ils ont escrit divers railinge quodlibetz & pampheletz lun vers auter: par

Also it appears that the Bishop of London, on the advice of the Council, and, as he told me, especially by the Secretary's advice, has worked to bring about discord between the Jesuits and the secular priests, whereby they have written di-

found guilty on very insufficient evidence. He died in prison in September 1592. Thomas Phelippes writes, March 22, 1591: 'Sir John Perrot was committed to the Tower. . . . There is a diversity of opinion respecting him, as men are diversely inclined to the Chancellor or the Lord Treasurer, who was said to be sick when Perrot was sent to the Tower, and has not left his chamber since. . . . The Earl of Essex [favours him] . . . but the Chancellor has great dependency, and if his proofs are as evident as the accusations are odious they will weigh all down.' (*S. P. Dom.* 1591–4, p. 21.)

que le traitorous purpose de Jesuitz pur deposer le roy come illoyal ad apere de lour escriptures de memes: auxi in lour apelle al Rome lun vers lauter, ils recede a pape discontent: le Jesuite que ad le countenaunce de Spaine totaliter, pur ceo le seculer ne sont reiect: le seculer pur ceo nont melior allowance: sed uno ore consensi sunt re vera advers protestantz, coment le writings voile colour le contrari, come episcopus et secretar dicunt & credunt.

vers railing quodlibets and pamphlets against one another, so that the treacherous purpose of the Jesuits to depose the Queen as unlawful has appeared from their very writings. Also, in their appeal to Rome against each other,[1] they left the Pope discontented—the Jesuits, who have the countenance of Spain entirely, because the plea of the secular priests was not rejected; the seculars because they are not more countenanced. But with one voice they are in reality in agreement against the Protestants, however their writings would imply the contrary, as the Bishop and secretary say and believe.

Referunt nonulli, quod Dominus Custos Sigilli[2] pro vale al seriant Hele,[3] dixit, 'god be with you M^r^ Seriant & prosper you in the Tribe of Isacar:' le quel Heale ne perceve: mes sur serch de ses amies ils trove que Genesis ca. 49,[4] that Isacar was betwene twoe burdens & to serve for tribute, ut Jurisperiti solent.

Nota 20 *marcii*, 1602:[5] After Quene Elizabeth had languished 3 wekes, to all seming rather of torment of mynd then payne of bodie, & refusing all phisick, after dailie and maniefold stronge exhortacions, both by bishops and the Councell, not to be her owne ruyne: against this day was a sommons of all the bishops

[1] For this appeal to the Pope see a letter of Thomas Phelippes to Cecil November 3, 1602 (*S. P. Dom.* 1601-3, p. 254), and the Pope's bull to Blackwell the Archpriest, $\frac{\text{Sept. } 25}{\text{Oct. } 5}$, 1602 (*ibid.* pp. 257-8).

[2] Lord Keeper Egerton.

[3] John Hele, of the Inner Temple; called to the Bar 1574; to the Bench 1589; Serjeant 1594; Queen's Serjeant May 1602.

[4] Genesis xlix. 14, 15.

[5] 1603.

and nobilitie nere London: wher was declared to them that sithence the first feare by her maiestie's indisposition, the Lords hath ordered the navie to be in redines against foren attempts: & divers partes of the kingdome had admonicion: so had the shiriefs lieutenants & deputie lieutenants Justices of peace throughout the kingdom: the lieutenant of the Tower the presidents of provinces & the Deputy of Ireland the maior of London, especiallie, & other corporacions: & stay made of all shippinge: therby they supposed a good securitie to the kingdome for tyme present: yet forasmuch as if god should call her maiestie, at which time the authoritie of the councellors of estate did actuallie cease, & then the nobilitie of the kingdome & such as had contynuyng authorities as corporacions by charter of inheritances & constables by common lawe, & all subiects, obliged by dutie to preserve the peace for the future successor: therfore the councell had desired the nobles to be in redines to withstand all attempt against the peace of the kingdome, wherof they were principall pillors, & to ioyne with them for some course to establish the peace in future tyme; & said the lords were the universal & grand councell of the realme if god called her maiestie, altho during her brethinge the ordering of the peace belonged to the direcion of her privie councell: wherupon they concluded of some unitie amongest themselves: but yet I could not understand that any publick nominacion was of any certen successor, altho all spake generallie for our gracious king to ther frends privatelie: yet it semed the succession was amongest the lords & councell so assured to them, that before the Queen's deathe a proclamation was drawen redie for the signature of the lords; and it pleased God to geve such tyme of preparacion & expectacion of her deathe, that she dying the Thursdaie after midnight, at 9 of the clocke in the morn, the councell & lords had assembled them selves at Whitehall (coming from Richmond) & ther the 24 of *March* within 8 houres after the Queen's death subscribed the Proclamation with 30 hands at least: & then instanter proclaimed the Queen's death, & the true and rightfull succession of King James the first king of England, of Scotland James the sixte. Wherupon the people both in citie & counties fynding the iust feare of 40 yeres, for want of a known successor, dissolved in a minute did so reioyce, as few wished the gracious Quene alive againe: but as the world is were inclined to alteracion of government, bothe papistes and protestants, as it

semed: manie having discontentment in ther private opinions tho perhaps non in truthe: & more hoping to be bettered by the suceding kinge, in whose vertues & prudence ther is admirable expectacion. God for his mercy grant the wealth of England, & the flatterie of the Courte do not in tyme deprave his government: nor that the envie of malignant princes seek not to seduce us nor non of his subiects from ther constant obedience, nor our synnes provoke God to bereave us of so happie a kinge, untill his church be firmelie buylt & his people contynewed manie ages in the former unspeakable and admirable peace under Elizabeth.

Kinge James having by post, sent from the Lords and Councell, receved advertizement of the Queen's death, sent back, in post, a letter wherein he required the lords and councell to kepe ther attendance & assemblie still at Whitehall for preservacion of the peace: & that he purposed to contynew every officer in his place: & immediatelie after sent the Lord of Kinlosse (after made master of Rolles) to shew the lords his mynd in all thinges; but rather to be an intelligencer & an observer of all thinges, being a civilian & verie wise. About this tyme the great men sent eche secretlie ther frendes & agents into Scotland, to prepare ther way with his Maiestie, advancing ther credit, by furthering the proclamation, or because they had ben favorers of his title before, or for that they had ben with the king in the Queen's tyme: or had endured troble for desiring in parliament proclamation of his true title of succession: manie other labored ther frends to go seek places of the king before he departed Scotland, especiallie to be of his privie chamber. These all had hopefull answares.

And about the 8 of *Aprill* 1603: the King[1] came into Barwicke, wher he was receved with great ioy as kinge: & all his way to London entertayned, with great solempnitie & state: all men reioycing that his lott & ther lott had fallen in so good a ground.[2] He was mett with great troupes of horse & wayted on

[1] James set out from Edinburgh on April 5 (Gard. *Hist.* i. p. 87).

[2] Roger Wilbraham did not neglect his own interests, as is shown by a letter from Mr. Simon Thelwal to Dr. Dunn, Dean of the Arches, and one of the Masters of Requests, then at Bremen in the Embassy mentioned above. 'Mr. Dr. Caesar and Mr. Wilbraham had, by the appointment of the Lords, set down a day to take their journey towards the King's Majesty. But Mr. Wilbraham has, it seemeth, fearing to lose his place, took post-horses, and went the day before the appoint-

by the sherief & gents of ech shire, in ther limitts: ioyfullie receved in every citie & towne: presented with orations & guiftes: entertayned royallie all the way by noble men & gentlemen at ther howses: & lastlie mett 4 miles from London[1] by the lord maior & such unspeakable nomber of citizens, as the like nomber was never seene to issue out upon any cause before: 4 nights he lodged at Charter Howse: four nightes more he lodged at the Tower: during which tyme he secretlie in his coach & by water went to see London, the Whitehall & the iewels ther (which were said to be worth 2 millions: for that the late Queene was a gatherer all her life, & either of nature fearefull to want in her age, as the wisest thought, or els of providence desirous to leave her crowne rich for the benefit of the successor & ease of her people's charge: whose dutie is to beare the charge to support the crowne from declination). In every countie it pleased his maiestie to knight the chief gents in every shire commended to him by the nobles and favorites about him: & manie extravagants of other counties, & some unworthy in ther proper counties, labored with such instance to be knighted that it cam to be a great gaine (as was thought) to the favorites. In his maiestie's passage to his owne howse ther were 300 knightes at the lest made, never knowen but by report to his maiestie: & it grew a publick spech that Englishe had the blowes & Scottish the crownes: but as it semed the king misliking out of his royall harte that either the unworthy should receve his favors in dignitie or that the worthy should come to favor by unworthy meanes, removed from the Tower to Grenewich, & ther published that such as expected knighthood should attend till the coronation: whereby the thronge at Courte (that evermore swarmed about his maiestie at every back gate & privie dore, to his great offence) was sodenlie abated, partlie by delay of ther expectacion, & because it was litle to ther ease to attend the Court upon ther owne charges: so as his maiestie to his iust contentment had convenient tyme to see his howses castells forests & chases within 20 miles of London: & therein took high delight, especiallie to see such stoare of deare & game in his parkes for hunting, which is the sport he preferreth above all worldlie delightes & pastime.

ment: and he did send Mr. Dr. Caesar word thereof two hours after he went out of the town.' (Wright's *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, vol. ii. p. 495.

[1] On May 3 James arrived at Theobalds (Gard. *Hist.* i. p. 100).

It is the manner, after the death of a long rayning prince, that by discontented mynds or witts starved for want of employment, manie new proiectes, sutes, invencions & infinite complaintes are brought to the successor instantlie, hoping, if they prevent discoverie, to prevaile in ther enterprises: so it happened at this tyme: for the Scottishe knowing & the Englishe coniecturing a facilitie in obtayning sutes by reason of his maiestie's most benigne & bountifull disposicion especiall towards his old servants, they never ceased to devise & sollicite sutes to his maiestie & complaints of all natures: such as were beggars were left to the ordinarie Maisters of Requests: sutes of bountie or grace were preferred by most of his Chamber, wherein the King hath ben abused by false informacions, sometymes of the qualitie of such as sued for offices, other tymes by supresing the worth of the sutes: that if his wisdome had not apeared in the cloudes, & that some wise councellors had in part fortold him, no doubt, as some escapes must ever happen in the entrance into a new government, so in these sutes for lands, pencions, offices in possession & in revercion, manie more errors had been committed to the damage of the crowne & government, & the grief of the best affected subiects.

This being a book of observations for my age or children: I writ this short & rude memoriall of the Queen's defection & the King's initiacion, as a thing most memorable wherein I note.

First: the mortalitie of princes, to make me more assured of the brevitie & incertentie of my owne lief.

Second: that when we think death furthest of, then as a thief he surprised us: for the Quene even to my self at my last audience not 5 daies before she beganne to sicken, at lest in mynd, did in extreme cold wether shew me her sommer like garments, contemning furres to withstand winter cold: & even then was death redie to knock at her dore, when nether her self her successor nor people dreamed of any such accident.

Thirdlie, I make use by the example ot David's saying that the harts of princes are in the handes of the Lord:[1] for her Maiestie (as all princes do imitating ther god) did desire perpetuall glorie above all thinges: and amongest her manifold & rare vertues of nature & arte, this was the onlie detraction that she had not power

[1] 'The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of water: he turneth it whithersoever he will.' Proverbs, xxi. 1 (A.V.). 'David' must be a slip for Solomon.

to geve, wher it was merited: but was as a bailie to preserve that which she needed not in her sole person for her successor's availe: to whom God hath & will geve manie high spreading branches, that will easelie draw up the full sappe from this roote, which the former sole branche had not power to doe: & if she had disposed 20^{tie} or 30,000*l.* to the comfort of her long worne thredbare pore old servants & paid her debts, she had died, as she did, the mirrhor of her sex: so had she ben glorified by fame & love above all her best deserving progenitors: & altho that ne doubt was the highest obiect of that renowned Quene, yet she aymed amisse by his providence who wold have her (as apered in her long lyngering & willing sicknes) ioy in no worldlie thinge, but suffred her entierlie to leave them to those, of whom she was at lest ielouse, and to draw her in her end to depend upon the suer ancorhold Jesus Christ, with whom her sowle resteth.

Lastlie we & all future ages have cause to honour & admire the great providence of God that hath geven one language, one religion, one continent, & in most thinges one conformitie of lawes & customes, to thentent to unite the kingdomes, that by hostilitie of warre, were alwaies utter enemies: so as therby his church being strengthened & we, by assurance of god's eternall providence, delivered of the feare which hath perturbed the wisest of both the nations these 50 yeres, may sing *magnificat*, &c.

To conclude: because future ages will perhaps write either incertenly or variablie of our late Quene or her next successor, being both princes of highest renowne for all externall happines that nature arte or fortune can afford: I having been Master of Requests in ordinarie 3 yeres to the Queen, & 3 monethes to the Kinge, will acording to the meanes of my apprehencion without flatterie sett downe the nature & vertues with the aparant defectes in both the princes.

The Quene was of comelie personage, sound in helth till her last sicknes, strong of constitucion: her onlie phisicion was her owne observacion & good diett: not tyed to howres of eating or sleping, but following appitite: not delighted in bellie cheare to please the tast, but feding alwaies upon meates that susteyne & strenghthen nature. In all thes habitudes the King's maiestie, her kindesman, hath semblable disposicion respecting his age & difference of sex.

The King hath a magnanimous spirite, venturous to hazard his

owne bodie in hunting especiallie & most patient of labour cold & heate. So was the Queen farre above all other of her sex & yeres.

Both of them most mercifull in disposition: & they sone angry, yet without bitternes or stinging revenge.

In prudence iustice & temperance, they are both the admiracion to princes in ther severall sexes.

The King most bountifull, seldome denying any sute: the Quene strict in geving, which age & her sex inclyned her unto: the one often complayned of for sparinge: th'other so benigne, that his people feare his over redines in gevinge.

The Quene slow to resolucion, & seldome to be retracted: his maiestie quick in concluding & more variable in subsistinge.

The Queen solemne and ceremonious, & requiring decent & disparent order to be kept convenient in ech degree: & tho she bare a greater maiestie, yet wold she labour to entertayne strangers sutors & her people, with more courtlie courtesie & favorable speches then the King useth: who altho he be indeede of a more true benignitie & ingenuous nature, yet the neglect of those ordinarie ceremonies, which his variable & quick witt cannot attend, makes common people iudge otherwise of him.

The Quene & King most desirous ever to please the people, & prevent charge to them: but the Queen greved the people in privilidges & monopolies, which I know was farre contrarie to her princelie nature: withal mishswacion that they were profitable for the common weal & that some of them yelded her a rent & saved her revenew, which otherwise should have ben weakened by such instant sutors, were the cause she graunted them: now the King by pulling them downe & losing the profit of those rents hath purchased, tho at a deare price, a sure inheritance in the love of his people.

The Queen took delight & made profitt in simulacion & dissimulacion & therby discovered fashions & pretences & favorers to sutes, & the true meaning of her severall councellors in matters of importance: the King semes to neglecte that as bazenes, thinking his owne witt sufficient to exploit thinges pertinent by ordinarie meanes, without such labor & insinuacion.

The Queen was quick of apprehencion, wise in councell by reason of her great reading & overreaching experience: of an admirable felicitie of memorie: & albeit of great constancie, yet by continuall labor, her benigne nature was changed & in parte

depraved by yeares & ielosies & ill affected about her: which she could hardlie eschue, being in age as a recluse cloistered to heare onlie such tunes as her kepers sounded unto her, whereby some thinges (tho good) were effected by arte of concurring in one tune that reason could never perswade her unto.

The King is of sharpest witt & invencion, redie & pithie speche, an exceding good memorie: of the swetest pleasantest & best nature that ever I knowe: desiring nor affecting any thing but true honor. As his lerning and religious vertues hath extolled him above all princes in the world, so I praie unfainedlie that his most gracious disposition & heroick mynd be not depraved with ill councell, & that nether the welth & peace of England mak him forgett God, nor the painted flatterie of the Court cause him forgett himself.

At my audience 19 *July* 1603:[1] my lord Cecill[2] secretary brought in bills to be signed by his maiesty of 8 barons & 2 erles: the earles have usuallie creacion money of £20 per annum *pro meliore sustentatione dignitatis*, but barons have none, saving the lord Mountioy hath 20 markes creacion money.

The King signed them all at one tyme confusedlie, not respecting who should have antiquitie: *quaere inde*.

The barons names were: Sir Thomas Egerton[3] lord keper, Sir William Russell[4] late lord deputie of Ireland, Sir Henry Gray[5] lieutenant of the gard, Sir John Harington,[6] Sir John Peter,[7] Sir Henry Danvers,[8] Sir Thomas Gerard[9] knight marshall, Sir Robert Spencer.[10]

The lord Thomas Howard made erle of Suffolk: & the lord Mountioy, lord lieutenant of Ireland, made erle of Devonshire.

[1] The King was at Hampton Court. Nichols's *Progresses of James I.*, i. 204.

[2] Cecil had been raised to the Peerage by the title of Baron Cecil of Essendon on May 13, 1603.

[3] Baron Ellesmere.

[4] Younger son of Francis, second Earl of Bedford, created Baron Russell of Thornhaugh.

[5] Baron Grey of Groby.

[6] Baron Harington of Exton.

[7] Baron Petre of Writtle.

[8] Baron Danvers of Dantesy; afterwards Earl of Danby.

[9] Baron Gerard of Gerard's Bromley.

[10] Baron Spencer of Wormleighton.

This day also the lord keper brought in a newe great seale: & had the old defaced & cutt in peces by the king himself & in his sight in presence of most of the councell called therto into the privie chamber: after which the king made an actuall delivery of the new seale to the lord keper *de novo*: & allowed him the old seale as a perquisite: of which a entry is in chauncery for memoriall therof.

21 *Julii*: erle de Southampton[1] dudum attaint ad novel creacion de son erledome: et lez avant ditz 2 erles & 8 barons fueront solempment par lection de lour lettres patentz a eux et al heires males de lour corps: et par endument de hood sur lour robes par le roy meme: et par cap de maintenance.[2]

25 *July* St James his day: was King James crowned first king of England & Ireland of that name & 6 king of Scotland: it was at Westminster: when ther died of the plague 1500 a weeke in London, the suburbes and tounes next adioining: & a proclamation to restraine accesse of people, & the feast usuall at coronation forborne, the King & Queen coming from Whitehall to Westminster private, made the nomber of people and the pompe much lesse.

Yet the presence of the nobilitie, bishops, officers about the king's person, 60 knightes of the Bath then made: the presence of the iudges & serieants, singing men, trumpeters & musicions, made a great assemblie; besides manie ambassadors from divers countreyes. At the Coronation when the King & Queen had seated themselves on ther throane of estate, erected nere the alter & spred with cloth of silver & gold: Garter Harold proclaimed in ech 4 angles and quarters in the King's hearing, demanding of the people whether they wold have King James ther king: in ech place with applaude, showting, throwing up hatz they assented.

Then the King had praiers said before his chaire, and the crowne put on by the Archbishop of Canterberi[3] and Deane of

[1] Henry Wriothesly, attainted and imprisoned in 1598.

[2] This entry in the MS. comes between the discussion in the Council on the Irish coin and the report of the dissolution of the Parliament of 1603, but at the top of a blank page, entirely apart from them. As the date of this recreation is given in *S. P. Dom.* 1603–10, p. 23, I have altered the order of the entry.

[3] John Whitgift.

Westminster[1] with praiers, and had auncient robes that were Edward the Confessor's put on & took oathes, due to the King; hard a sermon preched by the bishop of Winchester:[2] was anoynted head shoulders & sides standing in his dublett cutt open for that purpose & receved the communion: and after removing from the altar to the throne & theater, receved homage of all the English nobilitie; and then the Lord keper published to the people, in the 4 severall quarters of the theater 4 severall tymes, that the King had granted to his people a most ample & generall pardon as ever prince did: at the which the people againe with showtes praied for the King: and so the King retorned to the Whitehall privatelie: the Queen also was then crowned & anoynted Queen: the eternall god blesse them & ther royall posteritie: & make them, as heades, & ther subiects, one firme solide & perpetuall bodie.

6 *Aug.* 1603: 4 Agents from the nobilitie & gentry of Ireland were committed to the Tower, for presenting a peticion to have the publick use of ther religion, & to be governed with ther owne nacion: & they have ther coyne better,[3] the religion could not be altered but by parliament, & ther action herein tended to sedition: also the peticion was presented by them having assembled 30 or more persons of the nobles & gentlemen of Ireland that attended for other sortes, as tho the wold put his maiestie in feare, if he graunted not ther uniust desire.

They were told at the commitment that his maiestie was firm in his faithe; & some said he said in some publik audience, he wold rather fight in bloud to the knees then geve tolleracion of religion.

7 *Aug.*: The Lords finding the Queen's funerall, the King's coronation, his attendance to be brought in, his liberall giftes & such extraordinarie charges, had spent the treasure, sent to Londoners to borow £40,000 who answared faintlie:

These 4 proposicions were made to encrease the King's treasure: proponed by the Lord Treasurer.

[1] Lancelot Andrewes. [2] Thomas Bilson.

[3] It was not till the autumn of 1604 that the disastrous policy of a debased coinage was finally abandoned in Ireland (Gard. *Hist.* i. 373).

1° to sell all copiholders ther frehoulds, which was thought the rediest way:

2° to grant leases for 60 yeres of all the kinge's lands, or fee farmes, taking small fines and dobling or trebling the rents:

3° to have composicion for respite of homage:

4° the Master of Wardes[1] said he was to have wardes torned to a certain annual rent to be propounded in parliament.

Monday 9 *Sept.*: 1603: I was at Oxford; wher lying at the Crosse Inne, the best in the citie, yet was ther two howses on either side adioyning infected with plague:[2] *sed deus nos protegat.*

There was the Spanishe Ambassador lodged in Christchurch and the Archduke's Ambassador lodged in Mawdelin Colledge: the attended ther audience at the king's coming to Wodstock.[3]

I surveyed the chiefest colledges: 1° Christchurch which was ment to have ben a famous monument, but never finished by the founder Cardinall Wolsey: it was ment to be a square of 8 score: three parts built, but the churche not builded: ther is the fairest hall with great church windoes, & the largest kichin I ever sawe.

Mawdelins is the second chief colledge: a large uniform square, about 4 score yardes within & all clostered benethe: a hall with church windoes, & a chappell fairer then faire & lardge churches: ther are walkes sufficient to environ a litle towne: for besides a close of x acres walled about for walkes & severall divided walks with ash trees, they have manie orchards walled in, & ech chamber to 2 Fellows have a peculiar orcharde.

[1] Cecil succeeding his father.

[2] Anthony Wood gives a vivid description of this plague visitation. Michaelmas Term could not be kept, and all the gates of thecolleges and halls were constantly kept shut day and night, and only a few persons left in them to keep possession (*Hist. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxford* [1796], ii. 280).

[3] The Spanish Ambassador, Don Juan de Taxis, Count of Villa Mediana, and the Count of Aremberg, the Archduke's Ambassador, had lately arrived in England to negotiate a peace. (Gard. *Hist.* i. 117, 207.) Sir Thomas Edmonds, in a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, dated September 11, 1603, Woodstock, writes: 'By reason that the Spanishe Ambassador hath had one of his company lately dead of the Plague at Oxford, his audience, which was appointed to have been given him here, is deferred till the King's coming to Winchester.' (Nichols's *Progresses*, i. 258–9.)

They have walkes also made in the medowes wherin the river of Temmies, & of Charwell do runne & meete; invironed close walk of willow & some elmes, to walk the distance of half a mile, in shadowes: this is the most compleet & fairest colledg & walks in England: (tho Trinitie Colledg square is much larger & fairer.)

Martyn College is a second to this & with statlie hall & chappell & square equall almost to Mawdelin: & I think a cloister in a second court fairer: a faire garden but not such large walks as the former.

All Sowles Colledg doth almost equall Martyn Colledg, but the square not so great: & without cloister.

Brazen Nose Colledg hath a nose of brass upon the gate: it is a pretie square uniform, but the hall square & chappell nothing to the former: yet statelie & colledg like: & to this most colledgs in Cambridg are equall.

Universitie Colledg is the auncientest Colledg: Jesus Colledg, Lincolne Colledg & others I saw on the outside: they seme farr inferior to the former.

All these 4 great colledgs have ther halles mounted 20 steppes from above the ground: but in Cambridge the halls stand upon the grounde: & all in Oxford built of free hewen stone: the most in Cambridg of bricke.

Yet the gatehouses & coming into Trinitie & St Johns in Cambridge is more statelie then any in Oxford.

Ther is 16 Colledges & 8 Halles in Oxford.

Eche of the 5 colledges I surveyed have good libraries; but the chiefest wonder in Oxford is a faire Divinitie Schole with church windoes: and over it the fairest librarie called the Universitie Librarie founded & supplied dailie by Mr. Bodley, that is thought for bewtie of building & wainscott frames & chaynes to kepe the books, will equall any in christendome: all the windoes of all the libraries have but two lightes & a transome, & sett nere together of equall distance, the one half wall thother windowe, by equall distance.[1] All the Colledg windowes are

[1] The year before, 1602, had seen the achievement of Sir Thomas Bodley's offer, made to the Vice-Chancellor in 1598, to restore Duke Humphrey's library 'to it's former use and to make it fit and handsome with seates and shelves and deskes and all that may be needful to stir up other men's benevolence to help to

likewise but 2 lightes, & some have transomes & some none: & the toppe of ech window is not flatt or square, but round as an arch at the toppe.

Mawdelins, Martyn Colledg & as I remember All Sowles Colledges wer builded by 3 successive bishops of Winchester[1] wholie: the towne of Oxford fairer & larger then Cambridge, but Cambridge hath a farre fairer markett place.

Oxford stands lowe, with rich meadowes about the rivers that runne by it: & Oxford is invironed with pretie litle hills two miles off by south & west: that part northward a flatt: the soile is clay & sand: a lighter ground & mold.

But Cambridge standes in a large flatt every way close to the river: & in a miry depe clay soile: all arable about it, in effect wanting the pleasure of medowes.

This progresse, *Sept*: 1603, I saw Salisberie called New Salisberie: th'old stoad on the toppe of a hill, & decayed for want of water.

Wherupon the towne was about E. 3 tyme builded two miles off in a flatt low ground & builded upon piles: the towne is built chequerwise, that at ech center you may look into 4 streetes: & ther is a river whereby ther be drawen into every streete a streme of water contynuallie runninge.

Ther is a rare faire & large cathedrell church in this citie, built by the bishop ther: & the building contynewed 40 yeres: & the charges aperes by the old books.

The Earle of Pembroke hath 2 miles off a faire howse called Wilton,[2] a large & high built square of hewen stone: the roames having ther lightes but one way into the square are malencholik & dark.

furnish it with books (Anthony Wood, *Hist., &c., of the University of Oxford* [1796], ii. pp. 265–6). Casaubon, who visited Oxford in 1613, writes of the Bodleian as 'a work rather for a king than a private man.' The divinity school both for its architecture and the library contained in it has his unstinted praise. 'Nothing in Europe is comparable.' (Boase's *Oxford*, p. 139.)

[1] There is some error here: only Waynflete, the founder of Magdalene, was a Bishop of Winchester.

[2] The seat of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, where James I. passed part of September 1603 and the whole of October (Nichols's *Progresses of James I.* i. 281).

Two miles from Salisberie on th'other side, Sir Thomas Gorge hath built a faire new howse[1] of stone, a triangle with 3 great round towers at ech end, wherein are his fairest chambers: & he hath the fairest garden & grene walks invironed with the river, & grenesward court before his gate, that I have seene: all his windowes are but 2 lightes with a transome, & yet being sett thick & uniform shew well & faire: but hath few lodging in his howse: it is much spent in pantreyes.

The first *Christmas* of worthy king James was at his court at Hampton, A° 1603: wher the French,[2] Spanish[3] & Polonian Ambassadors were severallie solemplie feasted: manie plaies & daunces with swordes: one mask by English & Scottish lords: another by the Queen's Maiestie & eleven more ladies of her chamber presenting giftes as goddesses.[4] These maskes, especialli the laste, costes 2000 or 3000l, the aparells: rare musick, fine songes: & in iewels most riche 20000l, the lest to my iudgment: & her maiestie 100000l:[5] after Christmas was running at Ring by the King & 8 or 9 lords for the honour of those goddesses & then they all feasted together privatelie.

Jan. 1603. The King's maiestie had an assemblie of the church bishops, & of the lernedst devines called puritans: and after 3 daies conference whereat I was witness the devines confessed scruples: corner cap: crossing in baptism: rings in marriage. Homelies read in churches wher wante lerned prechers, kneling at communion, common praier with preching, confirmacion of children, private baptisme so it were by a minister, to be verie auncient in the primitive church: & the two last to be necessarie, thother indifferent, & to be admitted for decency & unitie: & the king's maiestie will have some things in the book of common praier explained to take away scandall: the herizies in the Apocripha not to be reade: & all the church brought to this unitie by moderacion, & perswacion of bishops to prechers that be honest & not contencious: but scismatical prechers to be coerced:

[1] Longford Castle. [2] Beaumont. [3] Villa Mediana.

[4] This masque, by Daniel, is in Nichols's *Progresses*, i. 305–311*, and was played on January 8, 1604 n.s.

[5] During the first four years of the reign 92,000*l.* were spent in jewels alone (*Parliamentary Debates*, 1610. Camden Society, vol. 81, Introduction, p. xv).

allowance geven to the 3 articles they are to subscribe, being reade, as I remember were:

1. The King's supremacie allowed by all, as governour: spirituall men to do ther duties in ther callings.

2. Nothing in the common praier book, these obscurities explaned, dissonant from the word of God.

3. The articles ratified by parliament not to be contrariant to the canonicall scripture.

It is resolved a new translation shalbe of the bible: and this common catichism with some enlargement to be in every church said, not divers nor long cathechisms: for discipline, the rigour & abuse of excomunicacion, the iudges & bishops to devise another censure: for planting a lerned ministerie, in the north, Wales & Ireland, commissioners apointed: to reforme *quantum potest.* The King's Maiestie concluded an unitie in indifferent things: but in matter essenciall to salvacion, better to obey God then man. Predestinacion & elecion not meete to be preched, but with great respect, & that as a father said to be believed *adscendendo*, begyning at our sanctificacion, which doth argue iustificacion: & that argues calling and elecion: & that ther is an inseparable linke & coniunction of these 4: & the frailtie such as non can be presumptuouslie assured of his elecion, but must work his salvacion with feare, & out of workes to prove his calling: *Rex doctissimus et eloquentissimus disputator omnium: idque coram clero.*

The Commissioners for the Hanse Townes in Germanie have had often conference with the Lords, 23 *Sept.* 1604.

They claime auncient privilidges in England, granted by E. 2: & after confirmed by patent & parliament by E. 4.

Ther chief clayme is to be as free of all customes as English borne for all transportacions & importacion & to be free of all trades & in all tounes in England.

This contynued till E. 6 made an order by his councell, *A°* 6°, proving those liberties forfett: first because they were no corporacion capable therof; but chiefli by abusing the liberties in coloring foreners goods, denying us lik mutuall commerce with them, enlarging ther *Hanses* and ther trade to the ruyne of Englishe. Queen Marie, at the instance of King Philip, condiscended to some liberties: but the *Hanses* never accepted therof, but have made ever challenges to them: & having some moderacions of those

liberties ofred them by Queen Elizabeth, the refused, and caused the Emperor by strict mandate to inhibite us the Empyre, *circa* 89: (the Staade and other cities have entertayned our merchants for the necessitie they have of our wolls & clothes).

And now after deliberacon & by his Maiestie's direcion the *Hanses* have ther answare this 23 *Sept.* 1604 at Hampton Court.[1]

First that the king & councell find ther auncient liberties void *causa predicta*: & the same denied these last 60 yeres to them: Touching ther desire to have some new treatie for more moderate liberties, *utrimque*; answare was, that the state of England might not endure them to be as free as English in customes especiallie: for so our trade of our merchants wold be overthrowen, & our navie decay: but they were offred to have as great liberties as any foren in amitie with the king have: & to grant them more, were to draw on the king the dailie importunitie and mislike of other princes.

Note the mischief to allow them equall fredom with Englishe in custom (which is doble custom to strangers) is that the *Hanses* carying in bottomes farre cheper, & having more alliance & fredome in passing the Sound & otherwise then English, they might sell better chepe, & ingrose our clothes & stoppe & open our vent & trade at ther wills: and therfore the *Hanses* being denyed ther liberties with protestacions of all other amitie, as to have ther *stilliard* howse or such lik curtesie, departed, not expecting so finall an answare.

All our feare is, if the *Hanses* have creditt with the Emperour, he will proclaime a new inhibicion against us: but our merchants answare the *Hanses* have no such interest in the Emperour, & manie townes in the confines of the Empire & Denmark will desire the residence of our trade staple, so precious as they cannot want it.

It semes by often debates of Councellours, that it is unmeete by concluding peace[2] with Spain we should geve him the redier passage to command Holland & the Low Countreys: for therby

[1] *The Order* in Council rejecting the claim of the Hanse Towns to certain ancient privileges as injurious to trade is dated Sept. 30, 1604, Hampton Court (*S. P. Dom.* i. 1603–10, p. 154).

[2] The treaty of peace with Spain was sworn to by James on August 19, 1604 (*Gard. Hist.* i. 214). It was not until 1609 that the Dutch, by the truce signed at Antwerp, obtained from Spain a recognition of their independence.

we should have to stronge a neighbour to nere us, as Spaine is: which were to bring us to perill dailie if he fall in his faith & peace: & if the articles of peace be broken in small matters, it is not like the king will warre against any of them, especiallie for wrongs to merchandize, &c., being private, but live in amitie with both.

12 *Jan.* 1604. Al hunting al Roiston:[1] Roy et deane de chapell[2] cite 12 deutronomy[3]: sur que ascun seer que chescun poet expend son dismes de meme: et deane dit que sont 3 kindes de dismes, destre view in ceo chapter: 1° Aniversariae decimae, solubiles tantum presbiteris: 2° Triennarie solubiles presbiteris ut Dei gloria elargietur pauperibus: 3° Festivales decimae, ou al festivals iours chescun carier ou eschaunger ses dismes, et al esglise ferra fest par luy son familie & ses filz & files, in gloria Dei: issint chescun an deux dix partes serra expend al esglise et glorie de dieu: et chescun 3 an serra 3 tres dismes pay ut supra.

Et Roy dit que auncient testament est plus direct pur dismes que novel: et ils ne remember ascun lieu pur enforcer personall dismes, comme lez dix partes de gaines de merchants ou legis peritorum, &c.

18 *Jan.* 1604, M^r^ Harley my host at Huntingdon told me this night, supping with me, that he being before a farmer & 24 horses for plows 12 horses & xxx cattall were bewitched & died in ii daies, soddainlie sick, crying & grynnyng & staringe: in th'end was advised to burne a sick horse alive & so did, and after had no more died: another did so by his shepe by Harley's advise: non after died: & Harley said a knowen witch advised him to burne the hart by rosting on a spitt, & the witch wold come to the dore before the hart was rosted.

The king's maiestie, sithence his happie comyng, by his owne

[1] 'The King went to Royston two days after Twelfth-tide, where and thereabouts he hath continued ever since, and finds such felicity in that hunting life that he hath written to the Council that it is the only means to maintain his health (Chamberlain to Winwood, Jan. 26. Winwood's *Memorials*, ii. 46).

[2] James Montague, Dean of Worcester, 1604; Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1608, and of Winchester, 1616; edited the collected edition of the King's works brought out in 1616 (*Dic. Nat. Bio.*).

[3] 12 *Deuteronomy*, on Tithes.

skill hath discovered 2 notorious impostures: one of a phisicion that made latyne & lerned sermons in the slepe: which he did by secret premeditacion: thother of a woman pretended to be bewitched, that cast up at her mouth pynnes, & pynnes were taken by divers in her fitts out of her brest.

The last Sunday in *October* 1605, Sir Georg Carew,[1] Treasurer of Ireland, made peticion to have his great acompt finished by the Lords Commissioners: Answare was made that Sir John Ramsay[2] had begged of his Maiestie the benifite of the deceates in the Tresorer's acompts & that his maiestie willed a staie: the lord chauncellor said in H. 6[3] tyme, a generall complaint was to parliament against Michael de la Pole chauncellor, & being referred the iudges said it was to generall & not by the lawes to be answared unto: therupon the same was drawen into more particularitie & so obiected & answared in parliament: so this complaint against the Treasurer is now followed by M[r] Ramsay defending before 4 principal of the Councell.

Deo gratias.

The 5 of *Nov.* 1605: the Lords & Commons attended to expect the King's coming the begynning of this parliament then to be held by prorogation:

A week before, the Lord Mountegle imparted to the King & Council, a letter sent to his hands by one unknowen & fled:[4]

[1] Sir George Carew, or Carey, Lord Deputy, for a brief space, between the terms of Mountjoy and Chichester, had left Ireland in July 1604, though his permanent recall was not until October (Gard. *Hist.* i. 373). He had held the office of Treasurer at War in Ireland (*ibid.* i. 372). Besides incurring the usual enmities and charges of rapacity Carew had offended Mountjoy by a rash speech. In March 1605 he is directed to submit the ledger book of the accounts of his Treasurership for the wars ending September 30, 1604 (*Cal. of S. P. Irel.*, 1603–6, p. 269).

[2] Sir John Ramsay had been the Ki g's page at the time of the Gowrie conspiracy, when he stabbed Ruthven. In 1606 James created him Viscount Haddington, and in 1620 Earl of Holderness. The records of the reign are full of gifts and grants to him. See *S. P. Dom.* xxvi. 45, as quoted by Gardiner, i. 330). On Oct. 25, 1605, Salisbury in a letter to Lake speaks of 'Sir John Ramsay's complaint of deceit' (*S. P. Dom.* 1603–10, p. 237).

[3] A mistake for Richard II.

[4] Monteagle received the letter at his house at Hoxton on October 26, 1605;

wherein he was advised to be absent from the parliament, for that undoutedlie, some great calamitie wold happen soddainlie by unknowen accident, which wold be as soddaine as the fyring of the letter:[1] wherupon the king after one serch about Parliament Howse grew so ielouse he caused a secrett watch, & discovered one Johnson practizing about midnight to make a traine to fyre 34 barrels powder, hidden under billettz in a vault iust under the Upper Howse of Parliament,[2] confessed by one Johnson servant to Thomas Percy, a pentioner, to have ben preparing 8 moneth to blow up the King, his Queen, children, nobles, bishops, iudges & all the commons assembled, if it had not been so happelie discovered. So the parliament was proroged till this Saterdaie: in the meane tym the said Percy & Robert Catesbie Esq^{r}, who sold me Radborne pastures 5 yeres sithence, stirred an assemblie of desperate bankeroutz pretending advancement of catholik religion to the nomber of 200 in Warwickshire & Worcester: upon which occasion the parliament this day proroged till the 21 of *January* 1605, being Tuesdaie, as the day wherein the king had scaped Gow-rye's conspiracy in Scotland, & this horrible practise in England.[3] But before publishing the adiornement, the lord chancellor[4] made grave spech: of our cause of unspekable alacritie that had united bothe these imperiall crounes under the soveraintie of his royal person: & for happie establishing therof the commissioners of both lands had concluded of certen articles tripartite, under ther seales: one part delivered to his maiestie,

and took it at once to Whitehall, where he found Salisbury, Nottingham, Suffolk, Worcester, and Northampton at supper. The letter was not shown to the King until November 3.

[1] There are no such words in the letter; but the King took a pleasure in allowing it to be believed that he discovered the plot from the words 'the danger is past as soon as you have burnt the letter.' See Gard. *Hist.* i. pp. 248–50, where the letter is given. The letter also spoke of 'a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them.'

[2] The first search was made by Suffolk as Lord Chamberlain on November 4, at about 3 o'clock (Gard. *Hist.* i. 250). At 11 o'clock the same night was made the further search which resulted in the capture of Fawkes.

[3] November 5 fell on a Tuesday: the date of the Gowrie conspiracy was August 5, 1600.

[4] Parliament, which had reassembled on November 5, was prorogued until January 21, 1606 (Gard. *Hist.* i. 285). Of the Lord Chancellor's speech there is a bare summary contained in a few lines in the *Parliamentary History* (i. 1052).

2 parts to the chauncelor of Scotland[1] to be presented at ther parliament, the 3 part he presented to the lords & commons now sealed with all the commissioners seals, according to the act of the last parliament.

He said it was no union to abolish the names of England & Scotland: no alteracion of lawes or the points of government or pollicy; but *proiect pur perfecion de union al benefite* of both kingdomes: wherof he praied favorable construcion, of ther sincere proceding: he compared this tyme with the late tyme of our Q. Elizabeth of famous memorie, & former tymes when the cruelti of civill warres was extinguished by the union of the howses of Lancaster & York: yet that union was clouded with mist & doubt even in the middest of the raigne of H. 8; but the union of the king's succession is perpetuall, by uniting in his person two kingdoms, wherein the severall monarches have had so long discents in ther bloud as no king christian hath the like: & this union is the act of god, not patched by absolucions of popes or parliament to dispense with doubtfull or illegittimate mariages.

Also in the late Q^{s} tyme, *senectus et orbitas* were feared in her, & induced hopes to the Pope & foreners to drawe us to foren subiection: besides the Novelestes & sectaries in religion, who wold be subiect to no commaund, made us in more daunger then when ther was a Heptarchie.

His Maiestie is of ripe yeres, longe experience in kinglie state wherin his strength hath ben tried: his wisdome, iustice, vertue & science admirable.

In lieu of orbitie, the Queen a fruitefull vine, & 4 olive branches of extraordinarie vertue & hopefull posteriti: he hath planted ecclesiasticall government: all foren princes have sued to him for peace to his honour, so are we established: & foreners, some said was not possible this establishment, find it firme & no hope for foreners: Justices in nomber increased: no officer displaced.

But what thankfulness in us, alas Winchester is witnese of the first attempt of Rawley[2] &c.: & we have sene the horrible attempte the last day against king, nobles, prelates & commons.

This procedes both first & last from romish pristes by a hellish practise under the earth.

[1] Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline.

[2] Raleigh's trial was held at Winchester, November 17, 1603 (Gard. *Hist.* i. 123).

These have raized a nomber like Catelyn's camp of wasters & spend goods to stirre rebellion, not so wise as Balam's asse, who discerned god's army: praied the king for suere iustice *ne pars sincera trahatur*: the papistes may be Christians but corrupt romish Christians.

Millions have geven ther hartes to the king to ayde him with ther goods & lands & sacrifice ther lives for his service:

He praieth exemplarie punishment in these may cause others to abhorre romishe religion: & praieth Christ Jesus to preserve his maiestie & progenie for ever.

The king's speech:[1] 'I had occasion the last parliament to render thankfulnes for the loyaltie of your hartes upon my coming: now I am to render to god thanks for our safe delivery, *misericordia domini super omnia opera eius.*

The creacion of man not so glorious as his redempcion, the old Adam not so glorious as the new: so this delivery greter then our accesse to the crown; *vox faucibus haeret.*

The daunger so gret, the cause so litle: in that place they thought to reveng hard lawes: in that we are to magnifie our god. God geves sparkes & attributes of divinitie to king that rules litle world under him.

The great world he destroes by water, the deluge, & fire, to purge the godlie, destroy the wicked. So the hiest places subiect to most daunger: which he had tasted first by Rawlie's conspiracie, wher he should have ben bathed in bloud: *sed inciderunt in foveam quam fecerunt*: so this last by fire, a daunger from a senseless element more inevitable then any of men, or bestes which Daniel escaped.

It was miraculouse being attempted by subiects without cause, pretending religion & conscience: & no remorse therof either in the prisoners or the rebells abroad.

Miracle to have a king distroyed in parliament *inter* nobles & commons *pur consult de bone publik*, the proper place & function of

[1] There are two full reports of the King's speech, (1) *Lords' Journals*, ii. 357–9; (2) *Parliamentary History*, 1054–1062, whereof the second is the fuller. Roger Wilbraham's report, though condensed, gives the general sense; yet, while omitting no material point, it differs somewhat in the words used. Thus Raleigh is not mentioned in the *Lords' Journals* or *Parliamentary History* by name.

a king: they confesse the chose this enterprise as *minus malum* to destroy all then the king to escape.

A miracle the king, taxed with want of suspicion in confidence of his owne sinceritie, should, against advise of councell, be extraudinarie suspicious: & collect the daunger out of the words of the letter, otherwise then devine or lawier wold interpret.

Scipio accused for wasting treasure, answared & was clered by saying, 'this day I wanne a victorie,' so in this place I may use divinitie in geving thanks for deliverie in this place:

I wishe my hart were sene in a glasse: this act hath not moved me to crueltie nor to ielosie of anie, but shall geve me caution to distinguish daungers & men.

These malefactors were prophane & bankroutz endevoring the distrocion of the state.

I have not read of Turkish or Jewish religion *que ad maintene* murder of the king & people: yet here religion is made the cause: & so are the Jesuits as allies, & others of this wicked mind.'

He distinguished of papistes: such as hold those doctrines be no good subiects: other be, & may be saved, tho they beleve 7 sacraments & such-like if at ther death they assure themselves in Jesus: & he warned those half papist, to detest alters & such: & said he wold proroge this parliament for the service against these rebels, who by repaire of all men of sort to the parliament have stood out hitherto; & for whose confusion he wished every one might endevor the uttermost, & that these rebels might be declared in parliament for a perpetual memorie of ther detestacion having offended the parliament universal.

Against the next session, wher he is no bound to be present, he advised the howse to remember, parliaments are consultacions of the king as heade: & his nobles are hereditarie parliament: & commons elective parliament *pro tempore* & the assemblie apointed to propone causes for the general profitt touching peace or warre: & no private bills, purporting generall, but ayming the good of some particuler for opression.

Lacedimonians allowed non to propound a new lawe, but with a rope about his neck.

Lett no puritane or malignant propone or utter affectionate speches: avoid rethorik & propound ech thing with sinceritie & gravitie.

He protested he wold propone nothing in parliament unlesse

it tended to the equall good of both kingdoms, loving them equallie.

Lett all things be so caried with wisdome as no parti depart discontent, king nor people: but let ther be a wise & loving coniunction for the weale publik against the conspirators therof.

And so the lord chauncelor was commanded to pronounce the adprorogacion of parliament.

In the cession of parliament 3 *Regis Jacobi*:[1] for 7 weekes nothing done for any publique bill: nor no private bill passed both howses within that tyme; the tyme most while spent in invectives against purveiors: & concerning a bill for redresse of those enormities: & upon conferences with the lords touching an act for the king's safetie, & further punishements, restraintes & discoverie of popish recusants, wherein both howses made declamations & manie devises of proiects against them: wherein they were extraordinarie incensed by occasion of the late horible practize of gunpowder discovered, which they conceve proceded of out the religion of Jesuitisme, wherein for advauncement of the church of Rome, excommunicacion, deposicion & murder of princes is held lawfull, & either meritorious or by dispensacion before, or absolucion after to be pardoned, altho manie Romanistes pretend the facts horrible.

Touching purveiors.[2] (After the commons had frelie offred the king 2 subsidies & 4 fiftenths:)[3] The lords anotamized to the commons upon conference,[4] that the king had kept a long christmas: & ben at extraordinarie charges: the Q[s] funerall 40000[l]: the bringing in of the King, Queen & Prince 100: giftes to Ambassadors 4000:[5] the emptines of the Q[s] cofers: increase of

[1] Parliament met January 21, 1606.

[2] Of the conferences and debates on the grievance of purveyance which this entry and those dated March 11 and April 15 deal with there is a somewhat confused summary in the *Parliamentary History* (i. 1065). The Commons' efforts to pass a Bill were wrecked by the resistance of the Lords (Gard. *Hist.* i. 299). See Spedding's *Letters and Life of Francis Bacon* (iii. 259, &c.), where an attempt is made to reproduce from the *Commons' Journals* the course of these conferences and debates. Wilbraham, as a member of the committee which met the Lords (*C. J.* i. 268), here gives a more coherent account.

[3] February 10.

[4] February 14 & 19. See *C. J.* i. 269 and 271.

[5] In *Commons' Journals* the accounts given differ—*i.e.* Queen's funeral,

new charges: the reliques of charges in Ireland & Berwick: charges of guiftes & pencions, for rewards, for bounti, for importunitie: wherby decay of revenewe hath groen: increase of iudges & officers in all places: the dett of the late Queen about 400000l, increased now by these & other meanes to 774000l: [1] the virginitie of the K[s] promises for repayment of privie seales like to be lost, to his great dishonour: & finallie his state not able to subsist unlesse by composicion annuall for taking away the purveyors for ever, which were termed vulturs, harpies, cormorants & caterpillers & vermyne, some supply might be devised (for advauncing the king's declyning state) by the commons.

The commons in publik debated & most voices semed to mislike the composicion annuall:

1° it wold be a perpetuall rent charge throughout England & a burden for ever:

2° next it was supposed by the lawiers of the common howse, (tho in the face of all the iudges drawen to the conference by the Lords to clere all doubtes, who delivered no resolute opinion therein, nether were much urged thereto: & *per case* doubtful in the matter:) that the king's maiestie had by prerogative onlie a preempcion but no prerogative in price: tho the Lords said the King found the crowne possessed by long prescripcion of a prerogative to have a resonable price to all his empcions for his houshold.

To which was answared the king could not prescribe against the statutes made in point direct to the contrarie.

3° The great obiection against composicion was that the king nor parliament could not secure the composicion: (which manie think may be done especiallie for the K[s] tyme, when he shall receve a annuall satisfacion *exercitorie*): for if 36 actes of parliament cannot restore the people to ther right of inheritance against purveors, one act now is not available: but as I think those acts were rather acts of restraint of abuses then acts of abolishing the name & use altogether which upon mutuall & equall consideracion may be done:

4° If it be true that the prerogative is to have purveyance in

20,000*l*.; bringing in of the King, &c., 10,000*l*.; gifts to ambassadors, 40,000*l*. (*C. J.* i. 271.)

[1] Gardiner gives total debt at 735,280*l*. (*Hist.* i. 295), basing it on the Lord Treasurer's declaration (*S. P. Dom.* xix. 45).

price also, & that inherent in the crowne: it cannot be sold nor severed: nether is it honorable:

5° Our bill against them is to restore us to our true libertie of inheritance: if this our inheritance should be against [us] bought, or if we buy our lawes of iustice, it were dishonorable to so gracious a king: & pernicious in future examples:

6° I thinke a great doubt may be that when the king's children's children shall increase his famelie, for the nephewes & all lineal discendants (*quaere de collateral freres*, &c.) are to be parcell of the kinges household in prerogative: then & upon all sugestions by suceding kinges, the composicion may be said to litle: & so to be increased upon the subiect: or els purveiors to be cast upon them for an affliction, if they refuse to compound.

It was further moved by the commons to increase our subsidie:[1] (for 15$^{\text{thes}}$ lay upon pore tounes verie hevie[2]) reasoned that the necessitie of the king must be releved by the affectionate love of the people: the king is the hart, the head, & lief of our lawes & commonweale: & the Chauncellor of eschequer[3] said the King was like Theodosius, the good Emporour, who said, *etsi legibus soluti simus tamen secundum leges vivere volumus*: & this is cited as a rule in the civil lawe; & so grief or want in the hart & hed must be releved by the helpe of all other members as the most obnoxious:

'Treasure is said to be the sinews of the commonweal: & the contraction of the sinewes in the brayne bredes a cramp & convulsion in all the inferior parts,' saieth Bond[4]: the benignitie, bountie, & pietie of our king & his necessitie amplified by many proverbs.

[1] On March 25 an additional subsidy and two-fifteenths were voted (*C. J.* i. 289).

[2] From the eighth year of Edward III. the assessment of the lay tenths and fifteenths took a settled form: the several districts were permanently rated at the amount paid in that year; particular incidence being determined by the local authority. The small towns, in many instances fallen in wealth and population, would be assessed at the same amount as 250 years before (Gard. *Hist.* i. 297; Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ii. 576).

[3] In *Commons' Journals* (i. 279) this speech seems to be assigned to 'Mr. Chancellor, Sir John Fortescue.' Fortescue had been Chancellor of the Exchequer until the beginning of James's reign, when he gave way to Sir George Hume; but a new patent from the King in 1603 confirmed him in his office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster for life (*Dict. Nat. Bio.*).

[4] John Bond, M.P. for Taunton (*Parl. Hist.* i. 975).

Amplificacion for subsidie made: by foren princes greter impesicions: the king's mild usage of his unlimited prerogative: & mild taxes:

Also it is for our's more then his safetie: also this tyme, when our straiter lawes will excite the pope & his adherents to attempt hostilitie: also daungerous the king's povertie being knowen & not releved may prevoke our reconciled enemies or our malignant negbors to unusuall attempts.

9 *Marcii*: 1605, Sir Edward Clere was called before the councell for a contempt, in assuming the order of knighthood & S[t] Michaell with a patent therof from the French king: it was first resolved the general order of knighthood might be acepted as a generall favour from any foren prince: but to take the order of S[t] Michael, being an order wherby his dutie of allegeance to the king is in part obliged to the foren king this is most unlawfull & undutifull: especiallie if he have taken an oath, which ties him to observe some orders incident: & altho he took no othe yet he is bound to observe the institucions of the order: & therfore without the king's licence may not assume it: he was therfore committed to the Marshalsie of the King's howse, with order no man should arest him: but if he had ben committed to the Marshalsie of King's Bench or Fleete, the Lords' warrant could not have prohibited, but execucions out of those courtes of Bench & Common Plees wold have ben laid upon him, as was said by the lord chauncellor Chief Justice & Attorney Generall.

Also this gent was to lie in prison till he willinglie resigned to the King by writing his said order & patent: the like president was before in Sir Antonie Shurley's[1] & Sir Alexander Clifford's cases.

This parliament has desired the reviving of an act of 23 H. 8 that no French wyne should be brought into England betwene

[1] Sir Anthony Shirley and Sir Nicholas (not Alexander) Clifford, two of the bravest and most gallant officers of the English auxiliaries, were invested by Henry IV. of France with the Collar of the Order of St. Michael. On their return to England they were committed to prison by Elizabeth for daring to accept this honour without having previously obtained permission of the Queen's consent, and were peremptorily ordered to send back the Collar (Wicquefort's

Michaelmas & the Purificacion of our Ladie: wherin was concluded in the debate that the wyne about Burdeux, which is the smallest wyne, is ther apointed first to be sold: & then after Christmas come downe thither from the high countreys the better wyne & better chepe.[1]

Yet our merchants are so desirous to buy at the first & the French so desirouse of the first sale as they sell wyne, that want tyme, of unripe grapes, & that hath not had 20 daies: in that tyme it might purge: which makes the wyne unholsome & quicklie sower: wherin doctor Paddie [2] said the best wyne was of the second leaz, meaning two yeres old: before which tyme it is unperfect.

He saieth Columella & Varro write in old tyme wyne under 4 yeres old was called new wyne: after till 7 it was ripe wyne: & after 7 yeres it was old wyne.

The French merchants that should fill the vessels, that by heate it might purge out the putrefacion [for the rolling by sea geves it heate, & so when it is new the heate makes it purge], they doe not fill up the caske—so that the putrefacion remaynes in the caske—to save so much of the wyne: & when it hath wrought, tho the putrifacion for want of filling doth not worke out but remaines in, then with 14 barrels they mak up tenne & so sell naughtie wyne.

But cold frosts trie the goodnes, for after Candlemas by tast, savour & colour it may easilie be deserned to be bad wyne that in lesse then a sommer will either stink or be sower.

Therfore the best buying wyne is after Januarie at the second vintage that comes in.

This xi of *March* 1606, the Lords & Commons had conference touching a bill passed by the Commons against purveyours: wherin it was sett downe that redie money & markett prises should be paid for all achates: & for carts such prises as Justices of peace sett downe: & the seller & the constable to be present at the takinge: & ther commission of purveiors to be made acording to all the lawes, to be shewed at the taking, or els the purveyors to

Embassador and his Functions, p. 354; *S.P.Dom.* 1591–4, p. 484; and *Dict. Nat. Bio.*).

[1] This Bill was read for the third time on March 31, 1606 (*C. J.* i. 291).

[2] Sir William Paddie, M.P. for Thetford (*Parl. Hist.* i. 974); Fellow of College of Physicians, 1591; President, 1609–11 and 1618; knighted 1603; Physician to James I. (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*, Early Series, vol. iii.).

be felons: also the Greneclothe not to iudge those causes but the courts at Westminster.

The attorney first, & after the Lord Chief Justice in the name of the rest present, & with consent of the Lords, shewed that this wold hinder the king 50,000[l] per annum,[1] to take away the king's prerogative in purveiance which is saved expreslie in a statute 27 E. 3:[2] also the chief Justice said the king had prerogative in purveyance to have it at a more reasonable prise then the markett prises: as first for some things the prises had ben alwaies certen, which the attorney said were mencioned in the old Grene Clothe bookes to be hereditarie prises: also the chief Justice cited record in Westminster courts also in E. 3 tyme, wherin it was adiudged that the king in corne was to have of the subiects 21 bushells for 20, & of strangers 22 by . . . for 20: & another recorde that the king was to have ech 8 bushell heaped. Also the king had a prerogative to have such prises, as had contynewed 100 or more yeres: & when no certen prise had ben, ther on even apraizment, not to high to charg the king nor to baze to opresse the pore: & if the king had no favour in the price, but a bare preempcion, the collecion of his provision wold farre excede the markett prise in charges: the attorney said no statute prohibited purveyance, but punished undue purveiors: & adiudged that timber groyng being freehold no(r) children that lerned singing for plesure no takes. The statutes that apoint present payment have ben expounded, by an act 4 H. 4[3] in the Tower,[4] to be as sone as the king hath money: onlie things under 40[s] had present payment by the old statuts.

They said that wher the bill[5] made it felonie to take without a

[1] In 1604 the Lords at a conference had proposed an annual grant of 50,000*l.* in lieu of Purveyance (Gard. *Hist.* i. 173).

[2] 27 Ed. III. St. 2, *De Stapulis*, cap. iv., which, while exempting those going to and from the Staple from disturbance by purveyors, saves the King's prerogative to exact from them 'toutz maners des prises Roialx dez cariages et Vitailles . . . auncienment dues et uses de droit, come ad este fait par nous et nous auncestres' (*Stat. at Large*, i. 269).

[3] Not '4' but 2 Henry IV. c. 14, enacted that purveyance for the King's house of 40*s.* or under shall be presently paid for (*Stat.* i. 404).

[4] Wilbraham was for a time Keeper of the Records in the Tower (*S. P. Dom.* 1603 10, p. 15): but Mr. Hubert Hall, of the Public Record Office, kindly informs me that his patent was vacated after hearing by the Council in 1604 as an infringement of the rights of the Master of the Rolls.

[5] The Commons' present Bill.

commission of purveiance acording to the severall statuts, the lawes were 36 of Purveiors:[1] some abrogating other by generall & some particular words & implicacion: the lawes were so intricate that 6 the best lerned in 6 monthes could not drawe a commission: & so the act therin to make it felonie was to rigorous.

Also to abrogate the grenecloth, which tho it were no court of record yet the necessitie of the king's present service required that they might & used lawfullie to punish by imprisonment such as resisted lawfull purveyance.

14 *April*, The Lords upon sute granted conference to the Commons, touching ther desires in ecclesiasticall causes:[2]

1. They desired that 300 ministers, deprived for not subscribing, might be licenced to prech, being all meanes they had to live upon: especiallie such as nether sought to sett up a presbeterie, or desired a paritie, or were of turbulent spirites: the desired tolleracion for these present, & not for future tymes: & since domb ministers were not deprived of anie living, ther contempt of not subscribing ought not to tak away not onlie the present livings, but also ther preching within these daungerous tymes, when practizes of poperie are everywher busie to deprave & seduce the people: & in Elizabeth tyme lawes were a terror to Rome (?): but inflicted upon some that were not turbulent: thes speches were devided in 10 partes & eloquentlie handled by Sir Frauncis Bacon:

2. Sir Henry Hobert[3] desired for the commons that the ecclesiasticall commission might not be executed but in London & York: 1° for that it was an arbitrarie & absolute authoritie: 2° it was without apelle: 3° it abrogated from the ordinarie jurisdicion, & hindred the chauncelour of bishops lerned in civill lawe: 4° besides excomunicacion, it authorizeth fines & imprisonments without limitacion of tyme or some: it was the highest commission & authoritie next parliament: & by this a parti may accuse himself:

[1] The Commons had declared, in May 1604, that the grievances in purveyance, of which they complained, had been declared to be illegal by no less than thirty-six statutes (Gard. *Hist.* i. 172).

[2] Mr. Spedding gives an account of this conference, collected from the Commons' Journals (*Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*, iii. 263, &c.), but Wilbraham's report is somewhat fuller.

[3] Sir Henry Hobart, appointed Attorney-General July 4, 1606, and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas 1613.

therfore to be committed to men of preeminence for integritie, iudgment & experience: to be executed in a publik place, and not in bishops chambers: to be assisted with men of equall credit: & not the bishop with his chaplens to geve sentences, which were *penes unum*: to be executed nere London & York, wher councellors might advise & prevent errors.

Sir H. Montague[1] desired citacion, acording to the Statute of Westminster 2, might conteyne the causes & the accusors in every matter: & not to send out a *quorum nomina* for 40 at a time, & then to compell them to take an oath to accuse themselves, which is against all lawes in causes criminall.

Lastlie M^{r} Sollicitor Doderidge[2] made an excellent spech to move that excommunicacion should not be upon triviall causes, for non aparances the first day, for a bundell of leekes: it was against the auncient canons & cited the text that that punishment was the last & most heynous, & excommunication was *exclusio a sacramentis, a sacris et communione fidelium*: & therfore by the canons not to be inflicted but by extreme necessitie: these speches were amplified with allegories & elegant sentences, an howre & half, & most aproved of all the temporall lords by ther silence admiring the eloquence & witt of the spekers: & the archbishop desired tyme to answare in so weighti a cause.

The lords after often debate refused to ioyne in these 4 peticions to his maiestie: for touching the first, *melius est ut pereat unus quam civitas*: & without ceremonies religion could not be supported: for the 2nd, his Maiestie wold be cautious: & for the 4th, he purposed in place of excomunicacion to ordeine fine & imprisonment: for the 3rd, the bishops wold be carefull: & to all answare was that it was dangerous to have a peticion publik & scandalous.

15 *April*, The Commons, par Henry Yelverton et auter legisperitos, respond al argumentz folio precedenti pur prerogative

15 April. The Commons by Henry Yelverton[3] and other lawyers made reply to the arguments in favour of the King's

[1] Sir Henry Montagu, Recorder and M.P. for the city in 1603. Afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1616, and Lord Treasurer in 1620 (Foss's *Judges*).

[2] John Doderidge, Solicitor-General, October 28, 1604; resigned office June 25, 1607, to give place to Bacon, and knighted; J.K.B. 1612 (*ibid.*).

[3] Henry Yelverton, eldest son of Christopher Yelverton, was M.P. for North-

le roy in purveyance : et ils arere fueront respond par Attorney a Chief Justice : 1° Commons et Judges varie in re un statute devant cite de 27 E 3, titulo statute staple, save prerogative le roy in prices, ou in prisage comme les commons diont : sed auters contra que ceo est prerogative de prices ; ergo vide statute. Commons & Judges agree que Roy ad purveyance par common loy pur houshold : & act de parliament contra ceo est void, quia necessarie prerogative : & Judges diont que act que roy payer redie money est void : car roy doet aver iour de payment tanque il ad satisffie pur guerre, que est plus necessarie : et chief Justice dit que toutz prerogatives de roy sont allow pro lege pro bono publico. Commons et Attorney agree ove Judges et ii H 4, 3 H 4, et 6 H 3, titulo . . . . . roy poet aver purveyaunce par force sil offer reasonable price : sed iudges diont ceo est price plus favorablement que markett : auterment charges de collecion sera plus grandes que subiectz pay :

prerogative set out in the preceding folio : and afterwards the Attorney and Chief Justice replied to them. 1. The Commons and Judges differ in regard to the Statute hereinbefore cited of 27 Edward III. entitled Statute of Staple,[1] the Commons saying that the King's prerogative is saved in prisage, while the Judges assert that it is his prerogative in prices which is saved : therefore see Statute. The Commons and Judges agree that the King has prerogative by Common Law for purveyance for his Household : and that an Act of Parliament against that is void, because it is a necessary prerogative : and Judges say that the Act that the King must pay ready money is void ; for the King ought to have a day for payment after he has satisfied war expenses, for that is more necessary : and the Chief Justice says that all the King's prerogatives are allowed on behalf of the law for the public good. The Commons and Attorney agree[2] with the Judges and Statutes 2 Henry IV, 3 Henry IV and 6 Henry III[3]

that the King may have

ampton. He was reconciled with the King in 1609. In 1613 he was Solicitor-General, in 1617 Attorney-General, and in 1625 J. C. P. (Foss's *Judges*).

[1] 27 Edward III. *Vide ante*, p. 80 n.

[2] 2 Henry IV. c. 14. *Vide ante*, p. 80 n.

[3] There must be an error here, as there seem to be no statutes of these years relating to Purveyance. I cannot decipher or conjecture the word omitted.

Lez commons relie sur 36 E 3, statute que est confirme par 23 H 6: ceo act inter multe auters apoint que roy payer redie money & markett prices comme ieo remember: & multe statuts a ceo effect: sed auters antique leges sont que gree sera fait al subiects: & ceux sont void par iudges quia deniall de subiectz ne hinder le purveyaunce que est cy necessarie prerogative: le iudges attorney ne commons ne poent citer ascun case in ley que roy ad plus favorable prise in prisees que subiectz ont, ceo est markett prises, quel est expound comme commons diont reasonable prises. mes fuit controvert un statute de 27 E 3 devant cite et 36 E 3, que apoint covenable prises serra entier prises ou non: mes attorney & sieur chauncelor collect que nul execucion fut de ascun de ceux statutz pur reasonable prices: car lez commissions de south le grand seal pur prisage & purveyaunce mencione de temps H 7 ont reasonable & purveyance by force if he offer a reasonable price; but Judges say that means a price more favourable to him than the market price, for otherwise the King's charges of collection will be greater than those the subjects pay.

The Commons rely on the Statute 36 Edward III,[1] which is confirmed by 23 Henry VI[2]: that act among many other things ordains that the King is to pay ready money and market prices, if my memory serves me right: and there are many Statutes to the same effect: but there are other ancient laws ordaining that grace should be given to the subject: & yet they are void according to the Judges, because the denial of the subject does not prevent purveyance in so much as it is so necessary a prerogative: Neither the Judges nor the Attorney nor the Commons can cite any case in law that the King has a more favourable price in prises than subjects have; that is the market price, which is interpreted according to the Commons to mean reasonable prices. But this view was controverted by the Statutes 27 Edward III hereinbefore cited and 36 Edward III, which ordain suitable prices, that is prices

[1] 36 Ed. III. st. i. cap. 2-6. *Stat. at Large*, i. 297.
[2] 28 Henry VI. cap. i. *Ibid.* p. 584.

royal prises : & le execucion prove le intent de leges : auxi lez acomptes in eschequer de toutz royes prove que heaped measure ad ete pay al roy & acomptes answare ceo : est un prerogative certen par statute pur prices de vyne tantum : & par *Magna Charta* un price certen pur cart & 2 chevals est 10^d, sed pur petit choses certen prises ont este par usage.

Et pur bief & mutton & grand choses prises sont variable sed favorable pur roy acordant al temps :

Le iudges agree que grenecloth nest court, forque de punish ceux quex deny ou resister purveyaunce : et in ceux cases tantum ils imprison : et comment *Magna Charta* est que *super nullum ibimus nec mittemus nisi per legem terrae* : uncore in ceo case ceo est lex terrae : sicomme courtz de equitie &

without reserve or none. But the Attorney and Lord Chancellor show that these Statutes for reasonable prices have never been actually made use of, for the Commissions under the Great Seal for prises and purveyance mentioned from the time of Henry VII contains the words, ' reasonable and royal prises : ' and the fact that the commissions have been thus issued proves the intention of the laws. Also the accounts in the Exchequer of all the Kings prove that heaped measure has been paid to the King, and the accounts show that. For prices of wine there is a certain prerogative by Statute : and by Magna Charta the fixed price for a cart and two horses is 10^d,[1] but for little things the prices are fixed by usage.

And for beef and mutton and great things the prices vary : yet are they favourable to the King according to the time.

The Judges agree that the Greencloth is not a Court : except to punish those who refuse or resist purveyance : and in these cases only they imprison ; and although Magna Charta ordains ' upon no man will we go nor send unless by the law of the land ; ' yet in that case that is the law of the land, just

[1] Henry III., reissue of *Magna Charta*, 1216 (*Select Charters*, p. 342.)

Starchamber, quex examyne person sur lour serment, et councell table, comment ils nont legall & formal procedings,—uncore est per legem terrae: mes si greneclothe erre ou imprison ascun contra leges. le iudges de lez grant *Habeas Corpus* de examiner lour procedings & deliver le parti sur case: & in conclusion fuit dit que comment le strictnes de bill verz purveyours (que fuit direct par auncient statute nient mise in use) fuit strict verz prerogative de roy que lie luy al markett prises, & redie payment, et de extinguishe le greneclothe: uncore le roy entend ease de people par proclamation, in prices & in takings & dabatur nomber de cartes, &c: quod det deus. Et proclamation fuit fait que in part prevent extorcions taking que ne fuit imploy par roy.

as the Courts of Equity and Starchamber, which examine persons on their oath, and the Privy Council, although they have no legal and formal procedure, yet are they according to the law of the land. But if the Greencloth err or imprison any one against the laws, the Common Law Judges grant writs of Habeas Corpus, so that they may examine into their proceedings and deliver the party on the case. And in conclusion it was said that although the bill against purveyors (which was directed by ancient Statute never put into use) was strict against the prerogative of the King, binding him to market prices and ready money payment and abolishing the Greencloth, yet the King intends the ease of his people by proclamation in all prises and taking: and the number of carts required shall be given: May God grant that this will be. And a proclamation was made that in part prevents extortionate takings from being employed by the King.[1]

5 *maii* Al councell bord: Impoisicion de 5ˢ 6ᵈ cwt currantz fuit petiicioned against: et le sieur Chancelour chief Justice et Attorney diont que roy sur

5 May at the Council Board: The impost on currants of 5ˢ 6ᵈ the cwt was petitioned against; and the Lord Chancellor, Chief Justice, and Attorney General

[1] The proclamation, though it put an end to most of the abuses, left untouched the claim of his officers to settle at their pleasure the prices they would give (Gard. *Hist.* i. 209.)

ceo foren commoditie, especialment comme chief Justice dit estant vanitie, poet impose ascun novel custom: issint royne Marie impose 5^{s} sur chescun clothe, par proclamation: et roy sese le currantz tanque ley trie in le point: et merchantz contra diont, que le custome de currantz est 5^{s} 6^{d} in Venice: et 18^{d} auncient custome de Engleterre et ore est increase de chescun cwt a 5^{s} 6^{d} et farme al sieur chamberlaine: que issint subiects pay circa 1^{d} ob pur chescun pound: et ce est grevance in parliament. Auters grevances fueront propone in parliament: 1° ce de currantz: 2° grant al Sieur Danvers de toutz issues reconizances per Angliam: 3° simile al Sir H Broncar per Walles: 4° simile al Sir Roger Aston pro Duchi Lancaster: 5° licence de blockwood al Sir Arthur Aston: 6° custom de new draperies al Duke Lenox: 7 licence de retaile vynes al sieur admiral: 8 licence de blew starche: 9 imposicion de sea coles: 10

say that the King can impose any new custom on that foreign commodity, especially, as the Chief Justice says, when it is a luxury. Thus Queen Mary, by proclamation, laid an impost of 5^{s} on each piece of cloth. And the King may seize the currants until the matter is decided in the Courts.[1] And the merchants on the contrary say that the duty on currants in Venice is 5^{s} 6^{d}, and 18^{d} was the ancient duty in England and now it is increased to 5^{s} 6^{d} on each cwt and farmed to the Lord Chamberlain:[2] So that the subjects pay about 1½^{d} on each pound: and this is a grievance in Parliament. Other grievances were put forth in Parliament.[3] 1. this impost on currants; 2. the grant to Lord Danvers of all the issues from Recognisances throughout England; 3. grant of the same to Sir H. Brounker[4] throughout Wales; 4. grant of the same to Sir Roger Aston[5] for the Duchy of Lancaster; 5. the licence of blockwood to Sir Arthur Aston;[6]

[1] This had been done in Bate's case.

[2] Earl of Suffolk.

[3] In the Petition of Grievances presented in the session ending May 27, 1606. For these Grievances and the King's reply thereto at the opening of the next Session, see *post* and *C. J.* i. 316–17.

[4] Sir Henry Brounker, President of Munster, after Carew.

[5] Sir Roger Aston, Gentleman of the Bedchamber (*S. P. Dom.* 1603–10, p. 65, Jan. 9, 1604). Master of the King's Great Wardrobe in 1608. (*Ibid.* p. 460.)

[6] Sir Arthur Ashton: licence to him and others for forty-one years to use and sell certain woods used in dyeing, Aug. 23, 1604. (*S. P. Dom.* 1603–10, p. 146.)

licence de transport ordinance: 11 saltpetre: 12 preempcion of tynne: & 3 auters: roy promise graciousement a reformer oppression et abuses: mes admonishe quils ne derogate de son prerogative: et pro maiori parte ceux grants sont petit damages al people, et grand profitt pur subsistance de corone: quaere eventum.

6. the duties on new draperies to the Duke of Lennox; 7. the licence of retailing wine to the Lord Admiral; 8. the licence of blue starch; 9. the impost on sea coal; 10. the licence of transporting ordnance; 11. saltpetre;[1] 12. the preemption of tin: and three others. The King promised graciously that he would reform oppressions and abuses, but warns them that they do not derogate from his prerogative, and for the most part these grants are of very little damage to the people; and of great profit towards the support of the Crown: Query as to the issue:

November: 1606: Al auter cessions de parliament: le chauncellor notifie al commons que roy ad ove son councell consider de ceux grevances: et ad respond a chescun particulerlie, et les grants al Sieur Davers, et auter al Sir Arthur Aston fueront repelle: mes les privilidge et imposicion de currants adiudg bone in eschequer: et les auters sont affirme bone par prerogative de roy a granter: vide le peticion de commons et respons le roy al ces cessions.

November 1606: At the other Session of the Parliament. The Chancellor[2] notified to the Commons that the King has considered these grievances with his council; and has replied to each particular; and that the grants to Lord Danvers and to Sir Arthur Aston were repealed; but the privileges in the matter of currants and the impost thereon were held good in the Court of Exchequer:[3] and the others are affirmed good by reason of the King's prerogative

[1] Patent to John Evelyn and others for making saltpetre for supplying the King's gunpowder for twenty-one years, Oct. 7, 1604 (*S. P. Dom.* 1603–10, p. 156). The Evelyn family carried on the manufacture of gunpowder at Long Ditton and Godstowe.

[2] Nov. 18, 1606, on opening of the autumn session (*C. J.* i. 314–15).

[3] Bates's Case, decided Mich. Term, 1606.

Auxi le chauncellor promise pur roy spedie payment de privie seals hors de subsidies: et le primer defection happen pur ceo le subsidie fuit plus petit que ascun assegnment: et trop tarde in payment.

to grant them. See the petition of the Commons and the King's reply thereto this Session.

Also the Chancellor promises for the King speedy payment of the Privy Seals out of the Subsidies; and the first defect in payment arose by reason of the Subsidy being smaller than any assignment, and being paid too late.

Et sur ceo le roy urge le union comme le sole matter destre treat in ceo cession: et respond al obiections.

And therefore the King urged the Union [1] as the sole matter to be treated of in that session: and replied to the objections.

1° Est dit que nest necessarie destre enact quia il et chauncelor diont, le unitie de soveraigne fait unitie in subiectes: sed order in ceo unitie est destre declare pur avoid inconvenience par certen limitacions et rules.

1. It is said that it is unnecessary that it should be enacted, in as much as the King and the Chancellor say that the unity of the subjects is involved in the unity of the Sovereign. But order is to be observed in setting forth this unity by establishing definite limitations and rules, so as to avoid inconvenience.

2° Obiect que *S*cotland est pore et *E*ngland riche: ce nest reason de devide Gales de Engleterre: ergo nec icy: auxi riches ne fait realme famous ou honorable, sed le communion et participation de ceo al plusors fait enlargment de kingdome:

2. It is objected that Scotland is poor and England rich. But this is not a reason to divide Wales from England, therefore it is not one here. Also riches do not make a realm famous or honourable, but the communion and participation thereof among many enlarges a Kingdom.

[1] The King's speech on the Union is fully given in the *Parliamentary History* (i. 1071–5), taken from the *Commons' Journals*.

3° Roy borne in Scotland est parcial a eux: son conversacion declare le contrarie: et il ne serra ingrate al England, nec unnatural al Scotland: et il ne unques committ que serra dit que roy de Scotland serra inimy al roy dengleterre: et le person le roy et le ley serra icy.

3. The King born in Scotland is partial to the Scots. But his conversation shows the contrary: and he will never be ungrateful to England or unnatural to Scotland. And he will never act so that it shall be said that the King of Scotland will be the enemy of the King of England.

Pur le union il desire ceo pur equal benefit dambideux: est rare quil ne fait, quant poet estre fait sans parliament par le roy:

Moreover the King's person & his Courts of Justice will be here in England. He desires the Union for the equal good of both. It is wonderful that he does not bring it to pass, when it can be effected without Parliament by the King himself.

Toutz realmes in amitie ont commerce, plus tost ceux deux quex ont un roy: et subiects nee avant sont naturalls de ambideux comme iudges ont declare: ceux nee postea, que ceux fueront unite in le roy et son person: auxi North Britten unite al South comme Wales al Engleterre serra strenth pur resist invasion: auxi in future ils serra rule par un ley: et serra ioyous mariage.

All realms in amity have commerce; still more those two realms who have one King. And subjects born before the King's accession, naturalized in both realms, as the Judges have declared; and those born after his accession are united in the King and his person. Also North Britain united to South Britain as Wales is to England will be made strong to resist invasion. Also for the future they will be governed under one law: and there will be a joyous marriage.

Ce union particular terror al enimies: et mettre dissention serra scandalous: union est essence de dieu, peace de ment et bond de mariage: sed nil fuit concludo in ces 40 iours de cession.

This union will be a special terror to our enemies; and it will be scandalous to set up dissention. Union is of God's essence, peace of mind and bond of marriage. But nothing was

concluded in the forty days of this Session.[1]

7 *Sept:* Councell assemble private pur suplie grand defect de treasure.

7 Sept.[2] Council assembled privately in the matter of the great defect of the Treasury.[3]

Et in *Nov:* fuit offer par customers de lend al roy 1200000[l] sur lour rent devant . . . pur customs: issint si roy ded que dieu defend; farmers in peril de perdre: uncore par perswacion de Councell fut aprompt al roy: sed le roy pay interest *ut opinor*: et 80000 aprompt de Londoners sui private perswacion de Councell de repayment.

And in November the farmers of the Customs offered to lend the King £1,200,000[4] on their rent, before the negociations for the customs were completed; so that, in the event of the King's death, which God forbid, the farmers were in danger of losing—yet by the persuasion of the Council the loan was advanced to the King; but the King pays interest, as I think. And the citizens of London lend £80,000[5] on the private persuasion of the Council that it should be repaid.

Med. June 1607: beggars et

In the middle of June

[1] The Session adjourned Dec. 18, 1606. [2] 1607.

[3] During the year ending with Michaelmas 1607 the expenditure had risen to 500,000*l.*, while the revenue, even with the addition of the grant made in Parliament, only reached 427,000*l.*, leaving a deficit of 73,000*l.* (Gard. *Hist.* ii. 12). The debt at the beginning of 1606 stood at 774,000*l.* (vide *ante*, p. 76).

[4] *Sic*: but probably a mistake for 120,000*l.* See warrant dated Feb. 22 1607, for renewal of lease to farmers of customs of tonnage and poundage on their augmenting the rent from 112,400*l.* to 120,000*l.* p. a. (*S. P. Dom.* 1603–10, p. 349), and warrant dated Nov. 5, 1608, to repay to Sir Thomas Hayes, Sir Baptist Hickes, and others of London 120,000*l.* lent by them to the king with interest thereon (*ibid.* p. 465).

[5] See warrant dated March 21, 1608, wherein is included the payment of 80,000*l.* with interest, borrowed of divers citizens and merchants, strangers of London (*S. P. Dom.* 1603–10, p. 415). A repayment on June 24, 1609, of 77,072*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* for a loan from Sir Henry Rowe, the late Lord Mayor (1607), and other citizens, apparently refers to this (Devon's *Exchequer Issues of James I*, pp. 92–93).

vagarants in Northampton Vill in despite dencloser fait prope le ville par bandes in le nuite disclose part de ceo: quil ne estant represse nombers increase de ce towne & divers villes in ceo countie et in counties de Warwick, Leicester &c.: et per 20 iours increase lour nomber: ut 300 ou plusors in un lieu *per dies et noctes* succide les novel inclosures et ne desist tanque 2 proclamations, a several temps fait par le roy quils aver iustice: et merci sils desist: et uncore ils continew tanque Sir A. Mildmay et auters horsemen ove force et slaughter de ascun 10 in hott bloud: ils fueront represse. Apres in lassise de severall counties avant dit 2 ou 3 fueront suspend pur example: ut roy dit *ut pena ad paucos metus ad plures perveniat*: et nest loyal action, les proclamations diont, pur subiects de reforme lour grevances par force: mes par peticion al roy destre relieve in iustice: et les Justices dassise pur satisfaction de baze people invey vers inclosers et depopulators: et inquire de eux et promise reformacion par iustice: que ad

1607: Beggars and vagrants in the town of Northampton, angered at the enclosures made near the town, in bands during the night threw down a part thereof. And in as much as they are not put down—their numbers increase, both from this town and divers towns in the county and in the counties of Warwick, Leicester, &c., and for 20 days their numbers continue to increase, till 300 or more in one place night and day are throwing down the new enclosures, nor do they desist in spite of two proclamations made by the King on different occasions that they should have justice and mercy if they desisted.[1] And yet they continue until Sir A. Mildmay[2] with some horsemen using force slay some ten in hot blood; and thus they were put down. Afterwards at the assizes of the before mentioned several counties, two or 3 were hanged as an example. So that, as the King says, the punishment of a few may impress the majority with fear. Moreover the Proclamation says that it is not a legal course for subjects to

[1] There are letters among the Hatfield MSS. showing the King's anxiety on behalf of the poor in this affair (Gard. *Hist.* i. 355 n.).

[2] Of Apethorp; eldest son of Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer to Elizabeth. Antony had been Ambassador from the Queen to Henry IV. in 1596. James I. dined at his house in 1603 on his way to Sir Oliver Cromwell's at Hinchingbrook, died 1617 (Bridge's *Northamptonshire* (ed. Whalley), ii. 427, 587).

animate le people : quils threaten par muttering manner de aver plus violent revenge sils ne releve : sur que le Councell apoint selected commissioners in 6 counties ascun erudite in ley, de enquire de depopulacions et de convercion de arable in pasture : quex report al councell table 6 *Dec :* 1607 a cet effect que in counties de Lincolne, Lecester, Northampton, Warwick, Huntingdon, Bedford et Buckingham circa 200 ou 300 tenements depopulated : et grand nomber de acres scilicet 9000 in Northamptonshire : et grand nomber in auters counties converte de arable in pasture : et que people desire lour commons partenant ad villes destre disenclose : quil point ne fuit inquire par commissioners mes est referre al ley : et les depopulators offer reformacion et submitt eux al merci de roy : et ned al merci Sir H. Carey patenti de penal statute vers depopulators :

remedy their grievances by force, but that they should petition the King to be relieved according to justice. And the Judges of Assize in order to satisfy the common people inveigh against Enclosers and Depopulators ; and inquire concerning them and promise reformation at the hands of Justice. And this puts courage into the common people, so that with mutterings they threaten to have a more violent revenge if they cannot be relieved. On this the Council appoints select Commissioners, learned in the law, in the six counties ; to inquire concerning the acts of depopulation and conversion of arable into pasture land. And they report to the Council on Dec. 6, 1607, to this effect. That in the counties of Lincoln, Leicester, Northampton, Warwick, Huntingdon, Bedford and Buckingham about 200 or 300 tenements have been depopulated ; and a great number of acres have been converted from arable into pasture land. To wit, 9000 acres in Northamptonshire and a great number in the other counties. And that the people seek that their commons, appurtenant to the towns, should be disenclosed ; but this point was not inquired into by the commissioners, but is referred to the law. And the

Sur que fuit direct al lerned councell: que le plus notorious inclosers in chescun countie serra ce Christmas sommon al starchamber al Hillary terme: et la iustice et merci extend a eux, ne ils desparre et baze people insult et animate a fere rebellion: quel est grandment suspect. Auxi maior de Northampton Shirief et prochen Justices quex ne represse outrage initio serra auxi convent in Starchamber pur lour remissenes: et est hope que ce public example stay le furie de bazer people: quel consultacion ieo par commandement de councell report al roy al Newmarkett 8 *Dec.*: et il semble de allowe ceo course, pur manifestacion de son iustice: et spedi reformacion de opression et sieur Salisbury advise le depopulators et enormous inclosers quils submitt eux al roy, et redresse le offence present.

depopulators offer reformation and submit themselves to the mercy of the King, and not the mercy of Sir H. Carey,[1] patentee of the penal Statute against depopulators.

On this directions were given to the learned counsel that the most notorious enclosers in each county should be summoned this Christmas for Hilary Term before the Star Chamber: and justice and mercy shown to them, so that they should not despair, nor should the common people insult them or be incited to make rebellion, whereof they are greatly suspected. Also the Mayor of Northampton, the Sheriff and the neighbouring justices who did not repress the outrages at the beginning should also be brought before the Star Chamber by reason of their remissness. And it is hoped that this public example may stay the fury of the common people. These deliberations I reported to the King at Newmarket on Dec: 8th by order of the Council. And he seems to approve of this course, for the manifestation of his justice and the speedy reformation of oppression. And the Earl of Salisbury advises the depopu-

[1] Master of the Jewels, with his father, Sir Edward Carey (*S. P. Dom.* 1603–10, p. 15, June 21, 1603), and Gentleman of the Privy Chamber (*ibid.* p. 137, July 26, 1604); afterwards Viscount Falkland, 1620, and Lord Deputy in Ireland, 1622–29.

lators and enormous enclosers to submit themselves to the King, and make redress of the present offence.

Febr 1607 : Attorney declare que sur conference ove touts Judges, le ley vers depopulacion est cy variable et incerten que nul certen punishment poet estre vers eux comme vers converters de tillage in pasture, *pena est certen* : ergo fuit devise un commission a divers sieurs de councell iudges et masters de requests de compounder ove depopulators al entente de persuade eux a reedifie measons pur visible satisfacion al murmorant people, de pacifie eux ; potius que a gaine fynes al roy.

Feb. 1607 : The Attorney General [1] states that, after conference with all the Judges, the law against depopulation is so variable and uncertain that no fixed punishment can be inflicted on depopulators, as can be on converters of tillage and pasturage, where the punishment is fixed. Therefore a provision was made for a commission to issue to divers Lords of the Council, Judges, and Masters of Requests to make composition with the depopulators with the intent that they should persuade them to rebuild the houses with a view to giving visible satisfaction to the murmuring people ; and to satisfy them rather than gain fines to the King.

Ceux 2 precedant ans grand contencion ad este enter les Judges Westminster dun part : et Archcevesques et clergie et les presidentes de Wales et North et masters de requestes, pur ceo sur chescun sugestion & private mocion et pur gaine al courts et apres iudgment et sentences passe, pur delay pur grander part, prohibicions ont este agard

These two preceding years there has been great contention between the Judges of the Courts at Westminster of the one part ; [2] and the Archbishops and clergy, the Presidents of Wales and the Council of the North, and the Masters of Requests of the other part ; because on every suggestion or private motion and for the Courts' gain even after judg-

[1] Sir Henry Hobart.

[2] With Coke's accession to the Bench on June 30, 1606.

hors de bank le roy et le common bank de stay proceding al charge et grevence de sutors: meme complaint est par high commissioners et sieur admirall dengleterre: et roy ad blame eux et Fuller pleder committ pur sedicions et disgraceful parols de clergie authoritie destre papall: et sur ceo le prechers devant le roy et a Pawles & *alibi*, par allegories et ascun foits pleinment momordant *legis peritos* pur que ascuns out este punish par un iour *pro exemplo*.

ment & sentences have been pronounced, with a view to delay for the most part, prohibitions are granted out of the King's Bench and the Common Pleas ordering a stay of proceedings which causes expense and grievance of suitors. The same complaint is made by the Court of High Commission and the Lord Admiral of England. And the King blamed them and Fuller,[1] a Pleader, was committed for seditious & disgraceful speeches against the authority of the clergy, saying that it was Papal. And on that the preachers before the King and at St. Paul's and elsewhere by allegories and sometimes even in direct words attacked the lawyers; because some have been punished by a day having been assigned for their appearance before the court, as an example.

Ce devision enter clergie et temporal ley est de grand peril al state: ci bien comme le discontent de bazer people verz le gentri: sed dieu defend et continew son peace quel le pape desire de violate, par instigacions de papists de refuser le oath de allegeance:

This division between the clergy and the temporal law is full of great peril to the State, as much as the discontent of the common people against the gentry. But God defend and continue His peace, which the Pope desires to violate by instigating the papists to refuse the oath of allegiance.

Et pur avoider le opinion de

And for the avoidance of

[1] Nicholas Fuller, imprisoned by the High Commission Court in November 1607 for words used against its authority while pleading in the Court of King's Bench. For this contest see Gardiner's *History* (ii. 36–40).

cruelti: le roy le 15 de Febr. command les Judges de user grand discrecion in punishment de priestes et recusants *ut pena ad paucos metus ad plures perveniat*: et divers distinct rules de limitt lour discrecion inde fueront donne a eux.

being thought cruel, the King (Febr. 15) commands the Judges to exercise great discretion in the punishment of priests and recusants, so that by punishing the few, fear may fall on the many: and divers distinct rules were given therein to them to limit their discretion.

Nota inde que in touts consultacions de grand councels un doet attender le inclination de president et secretaries quex principalment direct eux: car ils ont de roy secrett instructions comment ascuns foits ils conceale ceo: et ieo ay view un letter de terror al Deputy et Councell in Ireland, et letter de moderacion al Deputie meme secrett, in grand cases de peace et guerre, et de religion la: & plusors choses sont propound *prima facie* al councell un voy pur secrett purposes ou lentencion de conclusion est auter: ergo est perillous al councellor al primer mocion, hastiment de mettre son opinion: ou in cases de moment destre precipitate in execucion de rigorous leys: car les Justices dassise quex execute priests acordant al statutes fueront blame sinon in cases ou il est obstinate et wilfull papist que inclyne auters a son superstition: et refuse le oath de allegeance devise par novel estatute: car tiels recusants de ce sere-

Note herein that in all deliberations of great councils one should wait to see the wishes of the President and Secretaries who principally direct them; for they have secret instructions from the King, although sometimes they conceal it. And I have seen one letter full of terror sent to the Deputy and his Council in Ireland, and another letter of moderation sent in secret to the Deputy alone, on important matters of peace and war and of religion there: and many things are put forth to the Council bearing one construction on the surface, for the purpose of secrecy, where the intention is that quite a different conclusion shall be reached. Therefore it is perilous for a councillor, on the first motion, hastily to put forward his own opinion, or in cases of importance to be precipitate in the execution of rigorous laws. For the Justices of Assize who execute priests in accordance with the Statutes are blamed, unless it is a case of an obstinate and

ment sont daungerous entant que pape ad condemne ceux que acept le serement: issint sont confederates al pope comme le darraine letter par le roy declare.

wilful papist who inclines others to his superstition, and refuses the oath of allegiance, established by the new act. For such recusants who refuse the oath are dangerous; in as much as the Pope has condemned those who accept the oath. So they are confederates of the Pope, as the last letter of the King declares.

19 *April* 1608: Erle de Dorsett grand Tresorer apres grand temps consume al councell table enter luy et Sir John Luson qui ad complaine al roy verz Tresorer pur countenancing de son nieces cause verz Luson & ascuns injuries fait *colore officii* comment in ley iustifiable: entendant daver Luson punishe pur ceo scandale: seiant al councell table et in serchant de paper de opinions de civilians pur redresse verz tiels accusors, in-

April 19, 1608. After long time spent at the Council table in a dispute between the Earl of Dorset, Lord High Treasurer, and Sir John Luson,[1] who had made complaint to the King against the Treasurer for his countenance of his niece's cause[2] against himself, and of certain wrongs done under colour of his office as if justified by the law; the Lord Treasurer, intending to have Luson punished for that scandal, while sitting at the

[1] Sir John Leveson, Kt., of Haling, Kent, M.P. for Kent in James's first Parliament, brother of Sir Richard Leveson, of Stafford (Hasted's *Hist. of Kent*, i. pp. 474, 8). Aubrey, referring to Dorset's sudden death at the Council Board, states that 'the trial was with this Sir Richard Temple's (*i.e.* his informant) great-grandfather.' Sir John Leveson's daughter Christian married Sir Peter Temple, of Stowe, the second Baronet, in 1630; their son Richard died in 1697, and his son, the fourth Baronet, also Richard, died in 1749 (Cokayne's *Complete Baronetage*, i. 82). Possibly, judging by the dates, Richard, the third Baronet, was Aubrey's informant, and for great-grandfather we should read grandfather. This would be the grandfather of Sir Richard Temple on the mother's side, Sir John Leveson, and not Sir Thomas Temple of Stowe, the first Baronet, his paternal grandfather or great-grandfather, as is stated in the note to the edition of Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, recently edited by Mr. Clark (ii. 211).

[2] Chamberlain, on February 6, 1607, writing to Carleton, refers to a cause in the Court of Wards between the Lord Treasurer and Sir John Leveson (*S. P. Dom.* 1603–10, p. 348).

stanter sans ascun notice ou foresight fell doune et instanter sans paroll parle obiit: estant terrible example & vulgar conceat que fuit iudgment de roy pur son hardnes de harte versus pauperos, il estant infinite welthie et trop grand husband pur corone ut populus fabulat: sed fiat exemplum aliis: car est example de terrible iudgment de dieu.

Council table and in the act of searching for a paper containing an opinion of civilians concerning redress against such accusers, suddenly, without any warning or prevision, fell down and instantly without a word spoken died. And this was a terrible example and in the opinion of the common people a judgment of the King for his hardness of heart towards the poor. For the Treasurer was exceedingly wealthy and too great a husband in the interests of the Crown, as the people say. But let it be for an example to others, for it is in reality an example of God's terrible judgment.

Infra 40 iours doctor Stanhop, civilian, obiit, estant de 40000[1] welth et de nul expence: sub cuius tumulo fuit escrit:

'a hundred & tenne lies under this stone:
a hundred to tenne to the devell he is gone.'

Within forty days Doctor Stanhope,[1] a civilian, died, worth £40,000; and miserly in his expenditure. On his tomb was inscribed—

'A hundred and ten lies under this stone,
A hundred to ten to the devil he's gone.'

Ce iour sieur Salisbury dit a moy que office de tresorer fuit un perilous place car sil consent al monopolies et al infinite devises pur concelement et novel

This day the Earl of Salisbury[2] told me that the Treasuryship was a perilous place, for if the Treasurer consents to monopolies and to all the numberless devices

[1] Sir Edward Stanhope, Chancellor of the Diocese of London.

[2] Salisbury became Lord Treasurer, May 4, 1608, on the death of Dorset (*S. P. Dom.* 1603-10, p. 427).

taxacions propone il procure malice de people et lour anathema: et sil resist serra fait odious al sutor et par case al roy.

for concealment and the proposals of new taxation he gains for himself the people's illwill and their curses; and if he resists the same he will be made odious to the suitors (i.e. the monopolists) and perhaps to the King.

June 1608: Newes in court, out of Hell, that rich doctor Stanhope put a case to the divell: he said it concerned common law: & wold be advised by Sir John Popham: who said it was an eschequer cause & he wold put it to Dorsett lord Tresorer: &c.

Nota. Perion chief baron: Anderson chief Justice de bank, et Popham chief Justice *de banco regis*, senio confecti subito obierunt: Popham ayant prise pille de le empericke Rawlie, ayant signe plusors warrants meme heure, et estant in salute, instanter obiit.

It is to be noted that Periam,[1] Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Anderson,[2] Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Popham,[3] Chief Justice of the King's Bench, worn out with age, suddenly died. And Popham had been in good health, but taking the pills of the empiric Raleigh[4] in the very same hour, just after he had signed several warrants, died suddenly.

Nota. Gawdy chief Justice de banke, estant le proper iudge de

It is to be noted that Gawdy,[5] Chief Justice of the Common

[1] Sir William Periam, Judge of the Common Pleas, 1581, one of the Commissioners appointed to hear causes in Chancery on the death of Sir Christopher Hatton, 1591, Chief Baron of Exchequer, and knighted January 1593, died October 9, 1604, aged 70 (Foss's *Judges*).

[2] Sir Edmund Anderson, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas from 1582 till his death, August 1, 1605, aged 75 (Foss's *Judges*).

[3] Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of the King's Bench 1592–1607, died June 10, 1607, aged about 76. He had presided at Raleigh's trial in 1603.

[4] Possibly Sir Walter Raleigh. The Queen had often gained benefit from his prescriptions, and a medicine was sent by him from the Tower, at her command, to the dying Prince Henry, the very day of his death (Gard. *Hist.* ii. 158).

[5] Francis Gawdy, named one of the Commissioners to hear causes in Chancery on the death of Hatton, 1591, Chief Justice of Common Pleas 1605, died 1606.

touts volunts, morust intestate: & Hesketh attorney de gards estant iudge de touts volunts, obiit, son volunt, ut ipse fatebatur, nient perfect pro defectu temporis:

Et Sir John Spencer le grand merchant de Angleterre, ses dettes et movables estime al value de 100000[1], et ses terres apres 14 ans estime al 12000[1] per annum, ad fait nul volunt et supose ce fuit subduct: mes sieur Compton qui marie sa file et heire devient in lunacy: par que tout movables fueront in perill destre begge de roy: mes le sieur Compton recover: et sic prevent courtiers: sed verendum ne sit improvidus: et sic ea quae Spencer supra modum miser et avarus acquisierit, subita largitione evanescant: ergo ne confide divitiis.

Pleas (before whom all wills come), died intestate, and Hesketh,[1] Attorney of Wards, also judge of all wills, died without completing his will, owing, as he himself confessed, to want of time.

And Sir John Spencer,[2] the great merchant of England, whose debts and movables were appraised at a value of £100,000, and whose lands after fourteen years were appraised at £12,000 per annum, has made no will; and it was supposed to have been removed secretly. But Lord Compton, who married his daughter and heiress, became a lunatic,[3] whereof all his moveables were in peril of being begged of the King. But the Lord Compton recovered; and so prevented the courtiers. But it is to be feared that he is a spendthrift, and so that which Spencer, inordinately miserly and grasping, gained, by sudden lavishness will vanish. Therefore put not your trust in riches.

[1] Sir Thomas Hesketh, appointed Attorney of the Court of Wards April 15, 1597 (*S. P. Dom.* 1595–7, p. 390), knighted 1603, died in 1606 (*ibid.* 1603–10, p. 313).

[2] The great merchant and Lord Mayor of London, known as 'Rich Spencer.' His only child, Elizabeth, married William, second Lord Compton, against her father's wishes.

[3] The inheritance, on the death of his father-in-law in 1610, is said to have turned Compton's head for a time (*Dict. Nat. Bio.*). In 1618 Compton bought his promotion to the earldom of Northampton with his wife's wealth (Gard. *Hist.* iii. 215).

Henry of France, the most famous warrior, a king of gretest potency, magnanimitie, sagacitie & opulency, having newlie (for some unknowen attempt) erected & kept in regiments 50000 soldiers extraudinarie, & having 2 daies before with most costlie solemnitie crowned his queene,[1] & riding through Paris in his caroch, with 2 noble sitting by him; the caroch being a litle staied at a narow street: a baze fellow unknowen & of no regard, stept up upon the coach wheele, & with a knif long prepared for that purpose strok the king 2 blowes in his bodie, 1610,[2] wherby he died spechlesse afore he could recover the Louvier his pallace: & so he that had scaped so manie bulletts, & in manie & long warres had passed eminent & sondrie daungers, was thus soddainlie butchered by a pesant:[3] having so gret an army in the field as the like was never before, and so great an assembly at the coronacion, & in his chifest et populous citie: & the *plaudite* of his victorious raigne, was torned into a *plangite* to all Fraunce: to whom he lefte his sonne of 9 yeres age for ther kinge: his mother is his regent: & the welth he lefte is incredible: & no certen cause of his deth knowen, saving that a Jesuite confessor or Jesuitical books perswaded this unrepentant miscreant to kill the king for an expiacion of his wicked lief. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

This spring 1610, at parliament which contynued 4 months[4] was propounded this king's great want of annual revenewe: his children['s] charges increasing &c: for which was required 200,000l annuall suport: & his debts protested by the Lord Tresorer to be 600000l:[5] for which was required a like supplie: which much amazed the commons: some offer was made of retribucions, as

[1] Mary de' Medici: appointed Regent on the departure of Henry IV. to join his army in Champagne.

[2] May 14, 1610.

[3] François Ravaillac.

[4] The session opened February 9, 1610, and was prorogued July 23. For this account by Wilbraham of 'the Great Contract' see *Parliamentary Debates* in 1610, edited by Dr. Gardiner for the Camden Society, vol. lxxxi., and his *History*, vol. ii. pp. 69–87.

[5] When Parliament had met in 1606 the debt stood at 774,000*l.* (*vide ante*, p. 76), or according to Dr. Gardiner at 735,280*l.* (Gard. *Hist.* i. 295.) The 600,000*l.* given as the debt by Wilbraham is differently accounted for in *Parliamentary Debates*, Salisbury, in his exposition of the condition of the Treasury at a conference on February 15, claiming that the debt had been reduced to 300,000*l.* (*Parliamentary Debates*, 1610, p. 5); while at another conference on February 24, i asking for a

taking away respite of homage: 2° binding the crowne to the tyme of 60 yeres limitacion: 3° cutting of penal lawes: 4° patents & pleding to be most favorabli expounded for the subiect: 5° no dett above 30 yeres continuance to be exacted: 6° all forfeted leases to be dispenced with: 6° no more imposicions to be henceforth laid upon home or foren commodities: 7° that Wales should not be subiect to such government as the king prescribe acording the power of the statute 32 H 8.[1]

These being considered by the commons, yet were they not embraced as things of so great value as the annual suport desired: but the commons finding the king's wants desired liberti to treat a contract for all prerogative tenures & ther incidents: namelie to extinguishe all wardships, liveryes, licence of alienation, respite of homage, & the court of wards, & inquisicions post mortem &c: & also to have all purveyance abolished (wherin the lawiers held we could hardlie have good assurance, doubting generalli the king's howse could not subsist without it): & they did also desire th'other 7 profers to be included in the great contract: the king licenced the treatie; & by his letter & oration of the lord Tresorer protested he wold not consent that any point of his soveraintie should be put in the contract: nether wold he assent except ther were offered in annuall support 140000[l] above the annual profits he made by wardes purveyaunce & other things: herupon it was debated into

supply of 600,000*l.*, he stated that 300,000*l.* was to pay off the debt, 150,000*l.* to furnish the navy, and 150,000*l.* to 'lie in his coffers for war or any just occasion' (*ibid.* p. 14). It must be remembered that Wilbraham was a member of this Parliament and of the committee in conference with the Lords (*C. J.* vol. i. p. 393). Possibly also his old colleague at the Requests, Sir Julius Cæsar, now the Chancellor of the Exchequer, would furnish him with information.

[1] The Court of the Council of Wales was erected by *Statutes* 34 & 35 Henry VIII. c. 26 for that principality and its marches, with authority to determine such causes and matters as should be assigned to them by the King. It was claimed that the four counties of Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester, and Salop were included within the Council's authority as marches of Wales. This was controverted by the inhabitants of these counties, and was the subject of contention between the Common Law Judges and the President of the Council in the reign of James I. (Hallam, *Const. Hist.* vol. i. pp. 328-9, note.) Probably Wilbraham makes confusion here between the above statute and 32 Henry VIII. cap. 2, which is a Statute of Limitations. One of the grievances of the Commons was the rule '*Nullum tempus occurrit regi*,' expressed in their demand that claims of the Crown should be limited to sixty years.

4 questions: 1° what shold be desired from the king: 2° what should be given by the subiects: 3° upon what lands or other things it should be levied, & how it might be equallie devided: 4° what assurance should be therof. The first was sett downe upon long debate in manie particulers: tho with reservacion to insert more *si quid ultra occurrit*: for the second 100000[l] per annum was willinglie offred: from thence by degrees & invencion, & after the house long weried were manie departed, it came to an offer of 160000[l]: from thence too 180000: & the king insisted upon 200000[l]: it was with reservacions assented to be that some: which some the king liked of, being often inculcate by the lord Tresorer that it must be a fixed & certen revenewe, which must in all be taxed wholie upon lands: when the commons ment that to be for a further debate & perchaunce to charge officers, usurers & merchandize with part of that tax: which was ever thought the land could not beare such an annuall charge for any long tyme: upon hope of sucesse in the contract, & in consideracion of the king's wants on[e] subsidie & 2 fifteenes[1] graunted *sed aegre*: so this cession ended: few things of moment enacted: & the parliament proroged[2] for 3 monthes onlie to the 9 of *October*; that in the interim it might be considered, how this support might be indifferentlie levied upon lands: for the rate of fiftenes is unequall & laid to much upon pore: 2° the rate of old rents most incerten & obsolete: 3° the rate of parsonages which is the 10[th] part is also unequall: 4° to tax all lands to the true exact rate, & then upon knowledge of all the land & acres in the kingdom & of the exact value & so to impose 2[d] or 4[d] in the pound, was the best waye: but non resolved on:

In this cession, the commons desired redresse 1° that the latitude of the ecclesiastical commission might be limited: 2° that the subscripcion of the ministers might be but according to the statute of 13 Eliz:[3] 3° that the silenced & deprived ministers might be restored: 4° that the 4 English shires might be exempted from the iurisdiction of the Presidencie of Wales: & some other gre-

[1] Gardiner gives one subsidy and one fifteenth (ii. 82), but see *Parl. Debates*, p. 58.

[2] Parliament was prorogued on July 23, 1610.

[3] 13 Elizabeth, c. 13, enacting that all priests or ministers should subscribe to all the Articles of Religion which *only* concern the confession of the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the sacraments, comprised in a book entitled 'Articles whereupon it was agreed,' &c. (Hallam, *Constitutional History*, i. 192.)

vances. But the chief & gretest semed the new imposicions, by the Book of Rates[1] amounting to above 100000*l* *per annum*, might be taken away: for proef of the king's prerogative herin a late iudgment in theschequer chaumber[2] was alledged: & the lawiers of the commons after serch in the records brought president, that in former tymes some of those taxes by the kings were abrogated or confirmed by parliament, without whose assent the king as they wold perswade could not impose:

To these & other grevances the king at the last day gave some answares but not fullie satisfactorie.

At this cession in *October*: when after 3 weks spent they begane to treat of the great contract his Maiestie sent word,[3] he never entended to yeld to the contract for support, unlesse he may have 500000*l* by supplie: wherby the commons never treated further of that contract, the most of them doubting, those great royalties were never entended to be abolished. After orations used by the Lords: & the first 7 points offred to the commons: & subsidies propounded, it was not thought fitt to put it to voices after manie daies debate: the commons alledged decay of staple commodities, inhauncement of all wares to be bought, the facilitie for favorites to spend the king's treasure, the imposicions upon merchandize wherof there is no limitacion, were the causes the people were not able to grant subsidies: so after 2 adiornements the parliament was proroged till 9 *febr* next:[4] no act concluded or resolved in 9 weeks cession: nether his maiestie nor commons satisfied in ther expectacions: *quod dii vortant in melius*.

Now for want of money the Lord Tresorer &c treat with the creditors, & such as have trusted officers, as the wardrobe &c.

Ther have ben commissions for sale & leasing lands: for defective titles: assart lands: establishing copiholders: conceled wards, contracting for wards:[5] & for fines of alienacion more strict then formerlie: increase of customes: silence from war & abatement of

[1] A *Book of Rates* had been published on July 28, 1608. The revenue from these new impositions is estimated at 70,000*l*. (*Parliamentary Debates* in 1610, Introduction, p. xx.)

[2] Bate's case, decided in November 1606.

[3] By the Speaker on November 5 (Gard. *Hist.* ii. 107). The 500,000*l*. was to pay his debts.

[4] Parliament was finally dissolved on February 9, 1611.

[5] Salisbury resigned to the King all personal profits derived from his office as

charges of Wardrobe & Household: yet are the king's charges by manie courts, & multitude of servants to himself, the Queen, Prince, Duke & Ladi Elizabeth: that want of money hath this yere 1611 occasioned 3 proiects:

1° a proclamation to enhaunce gold 2° in the pounde, yet litle brought to the mint, because coinage is so deare of late: 2° about 90 knights of degrees called baronetts of inheritance next in place to lords:[1] & now ther is contencion for precedencie betwene them & barons' yonger sonnes: 3° a generall lone of money, wherby manie are retorned *infirmi*: & money like to be scarce:[2] god grant this lone may pay the crowne dett, supplie the Tower, provision magazons, & the navie: for no surplusage can be saved for any further preparacion for occasion of foren warre.

24 *May* 1612 died the erle of Salisberi, the lest Lord Tresorer in person[3] that ever was: but gretest in offices, for besides that place he was principall secretarie & master of Wards for Queen Elizabeth & King James: chauncelor of Cambridge: stuard to Queene and steward of Westminster, & Grenewiche &c: he more then a president was alpha & omega in Councell: he solie managed all foren affaires, especialli Ireland: he directed parliament: he managed all the revenew & gretest affaires of the King, Queen, Prince & Duke of York: he found the coffers emptie: yet by the invencions on the former page & that especiallie by inhaunsing the customs, for which he was much maligned, he supported the crowne 5 yeres: he built 3 incomparable howses[4] &c: of bountie in all expenses, magnanimous corage, infinite in witt & pollicie, admirable to all men in eloquence upon the sodaine: depe secrett & prudent in councell: and quid non: *deo servus mihi patronus.*

Master of the Court of Wards, and gave orders forbidding the acceptance of irregular payments from suitors (Gard. *Hist.* ii. 113).

[1] The title was offered to all knights or esquires possessed of lands worth 1,000*l.* a year on payment of 1,080*l.* in three annual payments. Within three years 90,000*l.* was thus obtained (*ibid.* ii. 112).

[2] In February 1611 the king granted to six favourites 34,000*l.* (*ibid.* ii. 111).

[3] Salisbury in person was much below middle height, probably not exceeding 5 feet 2 inches (Brewer's *English Studies*, p. 130).

[4] The Earl had the 'architectonic tastes' of his father, and in 1607, when he began the building of Hatfield, was also ornamenting and altering Salisbury House, in the Strand, and erecting a vast exchange, called 'Britain's Burse,' on the site of the present Adelphi (*ibid.* p. 114).

The last of *May* upon the Lord Tresorer's death the Chauncelor of Eschequer,[1] lord Tresorer's private remembrancer of the issues, & the clerke *pellis exitus et introitus*, delivered before the whole bodie of the councell privatelie (I beinge present) the state of the annual revenues in receates & expence: to this effect, viz. the yerelie receats *viis et modis* is 280000l, the yerelie expences is 440000l: so as the issues exceade the yerelie receates 160000l per annum:[2] at which the councell cast downe ther heads, it being likelie the yerelie expence will dailie increase.

Besides the king's detts are nombred 500000l: wherof to the Londoners 110000l for money borowed: upon privi seales 140000l: to the Quene 42000l.

THE CHIEF EXPENCES OF THE KING ANUALLY.

	l		l
1 household . .	100000.[3]	4 the Quene .	20000.[7]
2 the Prince . .	40000.[4]	5 pencions . .	80000.[8]
3 navi & cordage .	50000.[5]	buildinge . .	20000.[9]
robes & wardrobe .	50000.[6]		

[1] Sir Julius Cæsar, April 7, 1606–1614.

[2] See Gardiner's *History* (ii. 199), based on Cæsar's notes, wherein the figures, the total debt and deficit are as here. The total receipts actually received every year were considerably larger, estimated in 1610, according to a paper prepared by Salisbury's directions before the meeting of Parliament, at 460,230*l*. (*Parliamentary Debates* in 1610, Camden Society, Introd. p. xx); but 280,000*l*. represents the regular and undisputed receipts of the Crown, derived chiefly from land or feudal revenue and customs, after setting aside payments which might not be repeated and such sources of revenue as the new impositions, estimated at 70,000*l*., and receipts derived from licenses of monopolies which produced in 1610 about 50,000*l*.

[3] In 1610 the expenditure of the cofferer of the household was estimated at 106,323*l*. (*Parliamentary Debates*, Introd. p. xii).

[4] Prince and Princess, 13,050*l*. (*ibid.*); but elsewhere Dr. Gardiner estimates the expenditure of the royal family in 1610, apart from the Queen, at 32,250*l*., or, in 1614, when Prince Henry was no longer living and Princess Elizabeth was married with a portion of 40,000*l*., at 26,000*l*. ('Comparative View of the Estimated Ordinary Expenditure of the Crown,' Gard. *Hist*. x. Appendix p. 222.)

[5] 40,000*l*. in 1610 (*Parliamentary Debates*, p. xii); in 1614 50,000*l*., as here.

[6] 24,616*l*. in 1610 (*Parliamentary Debates*, p. xii).

[7] 14,000*l*. in 1610 (*ibid.*); in 1614 24,500*l*. (Gard. *Hist*. x. 222.)

[8] 94,192*l*. is given to 'fees and annuities' in Dr. Gardiner's above-quoted 'Financial Tables,' *Hist*. x. 222.

[9] 24,000*l*. in *Parliamentary Debates*, p. xii.

Ireland annuall charge is besides the revenewe ther which is *circa* 25000[1] . . . . . 30000.[1]
(See note [2] as to Total.)

THE CHIEF OF THE REVENEW ARE FIRST

The customes . .	140000.[3]	Impostes of wine[4]	
The revenewe about .	100000.	Duchy . . .	12000.[5]
profits of seals & fines in Courtes			
Alum rent . . .	8000.[6]	Court of Wards .	20000.[7]
Ireland . . .	25000.		

Manie other parcels particularlie sett downe before the Lords in writing: wherupon the councell fell into consideracion to rectifie these defections.[8]

[1] 300.000*l.* in MS. but evidently a mistake for 30.000*l.* The total charge of Ireland would thus amount to 55.000*l.* This nearly agrees with Dr. Gardiner's estimate in 1610 in his 'Financial Tables,' *supra*, and in *Parliamentary Debates* Introd. p. xiii, *i.e.* 52.584*l.* or 46.000*l.* in 1614, on the supposition that the 34.000*l.*, the annual revenue of Ireland (Gard. *Hist.* ii. 112), is included in these totals, as employed in Ireland to defray the expenditure.

[2] The total of the 'chief expenses' here noted is 415.000*l.*, compared with 440.000*l.* stated above to be the yearly expenditure. But certain items are obviously omitted: Dr. Gardiner reckons the total expenditure of 1610 as 517.547*l.*, and of 1614 522.940 (Gard. *Hist.* x. 222).

[3] This must represent only the receipts from customs apart from the new imp positions imposed in 1608 by the Book of Rates, which were reckoned to produce annually about 70.000*l.* In Salisbury's estimate for 1610, already quoted, the total customs imposition set before 1608 (thus excluding the new impositions), alnage, licenses, &c., are reckoned at 177.358*l.*; or, deducting the alum rent here given as 8.000*l.* and the imposts on wine amounting to about 23,000*l.*, 146.358*l.* whereof the great customs are set down at 130.000*l.* Thus we arrive at approximately the sum of 140.000*l.* here given by Wilbraham for the customs.

The wine licenses in 1610 were estimated at 23.300*l.*, *i.e.* sweet wines 6,000*l.*, French and Rhenish wines 17.300*l.* (*Parliamentary Debates*, Introd. p. xix).

[4] In 1613 21.000*l.* (ibid.). [5] 5.000*l.* in 1610.
14.000*l.* (Gard. *Hist.* ii. 112).

[6] The total of the items of revenue here given amounts to 305.000*l.*; but here again there are admittedly omissions. For the actual total revenue *vide ante*, p. 317 note.

In *Nov.* 1612 died (of an ague caused by overheate in exercise at teniss as is thought) the noble prince Henry Prince of Wales,[1] to the great grief & losse of Great Brittaine. He was a hopefull prince 18 yeres old: & much lamented of all, because he had an heroicall spirite: stout & constant in his designes: obedient to the kinge: he kept his court in princelie state: in all his actions he shewed magnificence: he attended himself praiers & sermons att sett tymes, & tyed his servants therunto: he favored lerning & loved men of armes especiallie & all others of eminent qualitie: he favored & countenaunced his servants so much that made some to insult, that now stope: he was so provident in his expence & œconomy, that, as the master of rolles[2] tells me, he increased his revenew 6000 per *annum*: & left 9000 good debt to his maiestie: beside his iewels, plate, wardrobe, stable &c., of which his councell render an acompt to the king's councell. To conclude he was the chief gemme in the crowne & loadstar to all christian princes.

27 *Dec.* 1612 were espoused & contract the Counte Palatine of Reyne & the Ladie Elizabeth, sole daughter of King James, in the banketing howse in presence of his Maiestie & Councell & of manie honorable ladies & 300 courtiers & gentlemen more: the words of the contract was the same of that of mariage spoken publikelie in French by Sir Thomas Lake,[3] k^{t}, clerke of signet, a lay man: with a short blessing by the Archbishop of Canterberie for a happie successe:[4] it was comfortable to Protestants: yet maligned by Paptists: after 3 severall asking banes in the king's chappell, thes noble personage were maried together by the Archbishop of Canterberie 14 *Febr* 1612[5] in the King's, Queen's & Prince's presence

[1] On October 10 the Prince was attacked by an illness which is now known to have been typhoid. On October 24, feeling somewhat better, he foolishly played tennis. A relapse set in, and on November 6 he died.

[2] Sir Edward Phelipps became Master of the Rolls on January 14, 1611, in succession to Lord Bruce of Kinloss. He was also Chancellor to Henry, Prince of Wales (Foss's *Judges*).

[3] Privy Councellor 1614, Secretary of State 1616. Lake read the contract in French with so bad an accent, and his translation was so absurd, as to raise general laughter (Gard. *Hist.* ii. 160).

[4] Abbott. His words were, 'The God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob bless these nuptials, and make them prosperous to these kingdoms and to His Church' (*ibid.*).

[5] 1613.

in Whitehall chappell after a sermon ther: a great part of the nobilitie being ther & a rich & full courte, especiallie of females: & 3 severall maskes:[1] on[e] of the lords Courtiers: 2 other at 2 *other nights from* the Innes of Courte: the Court abounding in *iewels & embroderie* above custome or reason: God grant money *to pay dettes.*

2 *Febr* 1612 on candlemas day[2] at night dyed Richard Wilbraham *of* Nantwich, Esq[r], my father, whose second sonne I was: *his age at his death was* 88 yeres & 5 monthes:[3] of a strong voice, *perfect memorie*, & sound stomak to digest all grosse meates till *his deathe*: naturallie wise & politick: iust in all his dealings: *verie* liberal & charitable to the pore: never stayned with any *deceat or notorious cryme*: his chief care for 20 yeres was to see *his grand* child & heire[4] maried & setled to succeede him: but manie mocions & non succeded: his overeaching experience & long *age* made him ielouse of his yonger children & best freinds till the yere of his deathe: which semed to be hastened by reason of a fall, wherby tho not hurte yet made him languish in his bed 17 monthes & so as a candle whose oyle was spent died without payn: god not giving him leave to see his heire maried, which was the whole care of his lief; like Abraham who after his toile never lived tho to see, yet not to dwell in Canaan the land of promise: so as man's wisdome or care will not prevaile to add one cubite to our stature.

1 *Feb* 1612: being 2 daies after his deathe Elizabeth Wilbra-

[1] (1) The Lords, (2) Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn, (3) Inner Temple and Gray's Inn. The masque of the 'Inner Temple and Gray's Inn, which was the marriage of the Thames and the Rhine, devised by Sir Fras. Bacon, failed, the King being so weary and sleepy that he refused to see it till Saturday' (John Chamberlain to Alice Carleton, February 18, 1613, *S. P. Dom.* 1611–18, p. 170).

[2] February 2, 1613.

[3] Born August 13, 1525. Roger Wilbraham was his second son by his first wife, Eliza, daughter to Thomas Maisterson, of Nantwich, whom he married in 1550. See Ormerod's Cheshire, ii. 137, Pedigree of Wilbrahams of Townsend and Delamere Lodge, where the date of his death is wrongly given as February 6, 1613.

[4] Thomas Wilbraham, son of Richard, eldest son of the above (who died September 13, 1601), and nephew to Sir Roger. Thomas was born June 25, 1589; married, March 24, 1619, Rachel, daughter and sole heir of Joshua Clive, of Huxley, Cheshire. He was an esquire of the body to Charles I. Died 1643. (*Ibid.*)

ham, second daughter of me, Sir Roger Wilbraham, was maried in great S[t] Bartholemew churche by M[r] Westfield precher ther, in an assemblie of 4 knightes & divers gentlemen & others, to Thomas Wilbraham,[1] sonne & heire apparant of Sir Richard Wilbraham of Woodhey, knight,[2] chief of my name & kinred, by the father's side: & Thomas Wilbraham, being by his mother's side grandchild to Sir John Savage[3] of Cheshire, chief of my kinred by my mother's side: the grandfathers of both parties now decesed wishing that match in ther lief tyme, & my frends living much desiring that I having now no sonnes,[4] might with my daughter give to the chief of my name a part of my acquired inheritance: as god pleased I entend if god prevent me not: to whose blessing I humblie commend the successe &c:

This Christmas 1613 the erle of Somersett did mary Fraunces daughter to the erle of Suffolke, she being latelie devorced from the erle of Essex *quia maleficiatus*: the pompe, state & greate guiftes & feastes exceded all example *quia placuit Regi.*

28 Jan: 1613: fut committ al examinacion sieur Coke &c: si roy ad papal prerogative daver benefite que cardinal et evesques ont in prycing biens de mort

28 Jan. 161$\frac{3}{4}$. Sir Edward Coke was charged to examine whether the king has the papal prerogative of enjoying the benefit which Cardinals and

[1] Born about 1601, succeeded to the baronetcy, conferred on his father in 1621, in 1643, distinguished himself in the Royal cause during the Civil War, was fined 2,500*l.* and his estates sequestrated, died 1660. See Pedigree of Wilbrahams of Woodhey (Ormerod's *Cheshire*, iii. 380), and his monument in Acton Church (*ibid.* 349). When the marriage was solemnised at St. Bartholomew the Great the bridegroom was aged only about eleven and the bride about ten. Sir Roger Wilbraham is described as of St. John's, Clerkenwell. (See *Marriage Licenses issued by the Bishop of London*, 1611–1828, ii., Harleian Society Publications, vol. xxvi. p. 18.)

[2] Baronet 1621; married Grace, daughter to Sir John Savage; died 1643 (Cokayne's *Complete Baronetage*, vol. i. p. 163, where the name of the bridegroom's maternal grandfather is given as Thomas).

[3] Thomas Wilbraham, the bridegroom's grandfather, died in 1610 (*ibid.* p. 163), and Richard Wilbraham, the grandfather of the bride, died February 2, 1613.

[4] Sir Roger Wilbraham died July 31, 1616, leaving three daughters, coheirs to 4,000*l.* per annum (*S. P. Dom.* 1611–1618, pp. 390, 426; Ormerod's *Cheshire*, ii. 137, Pedigree of Wilbrahams of Townsend and Delamere Lodge).

homes: car ils hay: et agree [illegible] est legal auther-ritie; auxi que 21 H. 8 ad ex-tinct toutes fees lorsque ceux petit a remayne.

Bishops have in pricing the goods of dead men. For this right was sought. And it is agreed that he has it not because there is no legal authority for the same. Moreover the Statute 21 Henry VIII [1] has extinguished all fees in such cases save some small payments thereby reserved.

Auxi pur licenses de glasse est usual et loyal de grant mono-polies de novel invencions que sont pro re publica: pur petit temps de 21 ans:

Also in reference to the licence to manufacture glass,[2] it is usual and legal to grant monopolies in the case of new inventions which are for the public good, for the short space of 21 years.

Hay intend de proclame son intent de lesser l'imposicions (?) al qui plus dare voluerit: Auxi de proclame in Ireland son bone contento de service son deputi; estant in disgrace pur ceo com-mission[illegible] ont examyne le extor-cions & misfeasans in government et trove luy sincere: ou ieo fui

King intends to issue a proclamation that he will lease the farm of the Impositions to the highest bidder. Also to issue a Proclamation in Ireland stating that he is well contented with the services of his Deputy,[3] who had been in disgrace, and whose alleged extortions and

[1] 31 Henry VIII, c. 5.

[2] This would seem to refer to a patent granted for the manufacture of glass with Scotch coal instead of wood, referred to in a letter from Suffolk to Lake, November 17, 1613, where Coke is mentioned as suggesting a new patent (*S. P. Dom.* 1611-18, p. 207); see also letter from Lord Chancellor Ellesmere to Lake, February 24, 1614, explaining cause of delay in putting great seal to patent (*ibid.* p. 234), and Chamberlain to Wake, October 12, 1614, where it is mentioned that the old patents are given up in favour of those who undertake to make glasses with Scotch coal (*ibid.* p. 236). The Commons made a grievance of it (Gard. *Hist.* ii. 242). Among the projectors were Sir Jerome Bowes and Sir Edward Zouch (*ibid.* N

[3] [illegible]

commissioner pur 4 moys ove Justice Winch, Sir ch Cornewallies et M^r^ Calvert, clerk de Councell: our procedings apere in our long certificate annexed to our commission under the greate seale of Ireland.

malfeasance in his government[1] had been the subject of examination by a commission. This commission, whereof I was a member for four months together with M^r^ Justice Winch,[2] Sir Charles Cornwallis[3] and Mr. Calvert,[4] Clerk of the Council, found the Deputy upright. Our proceedings appear in our long certificate annexed to our commission under the Great Seal of Ireland.

Circa midsomer day[5] 1614: died th'erle of Northampton,[6] lord privi seale: who was glorious in his lief, yet now dead

[1] The long list of grievances charged against the Irish Government was delivered on July 15, 1613, though the commissioners did not arrive in Dublin until September 11. Their Report was sent in on November 12. The king delivered judgment on the charges on April 12, 1614 (Gard. *Hist.* ii. 295).

[2] Sir Humphrey Winch, Chief Baron of the Irish Exchequer 1606, Chief Justice of the King's Bench 1608, Judge of the Common Pleas (England) 1611–25 (Foss's *Judges*).

[3] Sir Charles Cornwallis, Resident Ambadassor to Spain 1605–9, Treasurer of Prince Henry's Household 1610 (*Dict. Nat. Bio.*).

[4] George Calvert, Secretary to Sir Robert Cecil, in 1606 Clerk of the Crown in the province of Connaught and county of Clare, in 1608 one of the clerks of the Council. From 1619 to 1625 Secretary of State, created Baron Baltimore 1625 (*Dict. Nat. Bio.*).

[5] June 15, according to Gardiner (*Hist.* ii. 259), who quotes a letter from Chamberlain to Carleton, June 30 (*Court and Times of ames I.* vol. i. p. 326). See also Larkin to Puckering, June 18 (*ibid.* i. 324); but Winwood, writing to Carleton, June 16, speaks of the Earl as still only dying (*S. P. D.*, 1611–18, p. 237).

[6] Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, brother of the Duke of Norfolk, attainted and beheaded in 1572, died unmarried. His great-nephew Thomas Howard, the Earl of Arundel, restored to the title in 1604, was the head of the Howard family. Chamberlain writes, 'He . . . left most of his land to the Earl of Arundel.' His house by Charing Cross he devised to his nephew the Earl of Suffolk for life, with remainder to Henry Howard, Suffolk's third son, together with 800*l.* a year on lands; but the bequest to Suffolk of his furniture and movables was revoked out of jealousy when dying, on hearing that Suffolk was to be appointed Treasurer. He dealt liberally with his followers, leaving most of them 100*l.* apiece. The three hospitals were (1) at Clun, in Shropshire; (2) Castle

lepraved manie wayes: he discontented those expected to be his adopted heires, because he made them not equall with Arundell his heire: yet he left them worth 40000[l] & gave to his servants & to 3 or more hospitalls &c. the 4[to] parte of his estate in valewe: by the liberall guifte of king James he had 3000[l] per annum of the Duke of Norfolk lands forfeted: & died therby & by his owne acquisicion, being supposed under hand a frend to papistes, worth about 120000[l]: he was said to practise under hand the hinderance of the subsidie demaunded, this parliament:[1] but it rather semed his maiestie's deniall to remitt the late imposicions upon merchandize imposed by the king's royall power 4 yeres past did so dislike the commons that no subsidie was granted: & the new elected & summoned parliament dissolved without any law passed: & instantlie upon this strange event the Bishops, Lords of the Councell & other his maiestie's best affected servaunts presented to his maiestie voluntarie guiftes in money & plate:[2] but in no suche measure, nor to be expected to draw on so manie givers (altho the exemple be notified by letters of the Councell to all counties in England) as is likelie to discharg a 4[th] part of his maiestie's dette:[3] my owne gift was 50[l]: grant o God that & thrice so much may sett his maistie's estate in equall termes as it was at his happie coronacion.

3 Masters of Wards died in 2 yeres.[4]

Elmer in Norfolk; (3) Greenwich. (See Court and *Times of James I.* vol. i. pp. 324 and 325, where the letters of Chamberlain and Larkin are given in full; and Dict. Nat. Biog.

The 'Addled Parliament,' which met on April 5, 1614, and was dissolved on June 7. Northampton had opposed the summoning of a Parliament and was believed to have induced a member, John Hoskins, to use insulting language against the King's Scotch favourites, in the hope that the King would in displeasure cause a dissolution. Gard. *Hist.* ii. 247, 501.

[2] Before July 18, 1614, 23,000*l.* was thus collected. Some of the judges offered under 200*l.* which was refused. The Earl of Salisbury gave the largest sum, 300*l.* Suffolk, Somerset, and Coke gave 200*l.* Chamberlain to Carleton, June 30, 1614; Court and *Times of James I.* vol. i. p. 325.

[3] The answer to the general appeal to the counties in two years only produced 21,000*l.* The total only came to 66,000*l.* In July 1614 the King's debts stood at 724,000*l.* and there was an annual deficit of 61,000*l.* (Gard. *Hist.* ii. 260, from a statement drawn up the day after Suffolk's accession to office.)

[4] (1) Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, died May 24, 1612; (2) Sir George Carew, died December 14, 1612; (3) Sir Walter Cope, died July 31, 1614.

October 1614 Lord Knolles[1] made M[r] of Wards, Sir Foulk Grevell Chauncellor of Exchequer,[2] Sir Julius Caesar[3] M[r] of Rolls:

Julie 1614. Erle of Suffolk made Lord Tresorer.[4]

In October after 1614:[5] when the howse of Suffolk was at the highest pitchie: himself lord Tresorer, his son in law the erle of Somersett lord high chamberlain[6] & the most potent favorite in my tyme: lord Knollys another sonne in law Tresorer of the howsehold & by his favor made Master of Wards:[7] the erle of Salisbury another sonne in lawe:[8] the Lord Walden his eldest sonne maried the heire to the erle of Dumbarre,[9] another of the chief favorites to king James: all his yonger sonnes maried to livings of 1000[l] per annum & more: the chauncelor of exchequer[10] & manie other great officers placed by his meanes & his sonne in lawe Somersett's, that grand favorite: having also built a howse or pallace called Awdeley End in Essex to the charges of 80 thowsand pounds at lest: & making councellors & bering chief sway at Councell Table & in Court & common welthe. Sodenlie I saie Somersett & his Countess in *October* 1614 were accused for poysoning Sir Thomas Overbery, prisoner in the Tower, being committed as was thought for a contempt in refusing an imployment as agent into

[1] October 10. Knollys had been appointed Treasurer of the Household in 1602. In 1614 he was one of the Commissioners of the Treasury.

[2] In succession to Sir Julius Cæsar.

[3] Sir Julius Cæsar, Wilbraham's colleague at the Court of Requests, and Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1606, had obtained a reversionary grant of the Mastership of the Rolls on Jan. 16, 1611 (Foss's *Judges*).

[4] July 10 (Gard. *Hist.* ii. 259).

[5] *I.e.* October 1615.

[6] Married Frances Howard, the divorced Countess of Essex, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, Dec. 26, 1613; appointed Lord Chamberlain in succession to Suffolk, July 1614.

[7] Master of the Wards Oct. 10, 1614; married Suffolk's third daughter; Lord Treasurer of the Household, 1602.

[8] William, second Earl of Salisbury, married Lady Catherine Howard, Suffolk's youngest daughter.

[9] Theophilus Howard, created Lord Howard of Walden 1610; married in 1612 Lady Elizabeth Home, daughter of George Home, Earl of Dunbar (*Dict. Nat. Bio.*).

[10] Sir Fulke Greville, appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer October 161 remaining in office till 1621.

some remote country:[1] but beleved to be committed by a practise because he being late before Somersett's bedfellow, mynion & inward counsellor, for which he was much envyed in Courte, hè was enemy to that mariage of Somersett with the countesse his wief late before divorced by a most solemne & straung sentence,[2] because Essex was [illegible]: for this poisoning the lieutenant of the Tower[3] & 3 more[4] suffred in Michaelmas terme 1615: & this 16 of May Somersett & his ladie expected to be tryed by Peers: but difference upon unknowen cause: & this business hath entertayned England &c. with talke.

In Whitson Week[5] 1616 the Erle of Somersett & his Countesse were seuerallie arraygned before Peers: she confessed the fact: he denyed & answered to the proofes & both condemned.

[illegible]

sequestred from his chief justice & councellor's place : that had ben most in wind & forward in prosecuting Somersett &c. for poysoning Overberie :[1] he is for welth & law witt above all of memorie : if he spend it will not unlike to be restored :[2] he is taxed to have practised a *praemunire* against the Lord chancellor :[3] a litle before his fall, Sir Fr. Bacon, attorney generall, was sworne councellor.[4] His arrogancie lost him many freinds, to help him in neede.

Julie 1616 : Sir John Roper[5] / Hollis[6] lorded at 10000l price a peece as is thought to supplie the progresse of the lord Hay in his magnificent ambassage to Fraunce.

[Henceforward the MS. continues in another hand.]

Jan. 4, 1641 :[7] the King came to the house of commons with an armed trayn to seise upon the 5 members.

Decemb. 6, 7, the army seised & stopped many members & deterred others ; seised 45, imprisoning them ; secluded 98 besides others that withdrew.[8]

[1] He was one of the commissioners nominated to examine into the Overbury murder, and presided at the several trials arising therefrom.

[2] Coke was finally discharged from his office in November 1616, after Wilbraham's death ; in Sept. 1617 he was restored to the Council Table, and in 1618 he was appointed one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, but his return to favour was short-lived.

[3] In the c ses of Glanville and Allen, two swindlers against whom recourse had been had to the equitable jurisdiction of Chancery from the strict rules of the Common Law Courts ; Coke, by a forced construction of 27 Edward III., St. 1, cap. i., enacting the penalty attached to a præmunire against those who appealed to Rome from sentences obtained in the King's Courts, instigated these two swindlers to prefer an indictment in the King's Bench not only against the suitors who had obtained the protection of Chancery, but also against the counsellors and clerks who had shared in the proceedings (Gard. *Hist.* iii. 10–13).

Attorney-General Oct. 27, 1613 ; Privy Councillor June 9, 1616.

[5] Lord Teynham. [6] Lord Houghton. [7] 1642.

[8] This must refer to Pride's Purge, December 6, 1648. Dr. Gardiner puts the number of members placed under restraint on Dec. 6 at forty-one (*Hist. of the Civil War*, iv. 270) ; but two, Rudyard and Fiennes, being soon liberated, and a few, like Major-General Browne, arrested some days later, the total number of members in confinement was forty-five, as here ; whilst ninetv-six others were turned back (*ibid.* p. 273).

[illegible] Mr. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

is noe power whence wee can derive or deduce the forme of God's worship, but from God himself, that the holy Scripture contayne the revealed will of God and are able to make us wise to salvation. That prayer, preaching, and the Sacrament are God's owne ordinances whereby hee conveighs grace and mercy to the soules of his servants: but whether in prayer wee should be tyed to a forme or left at lyberty, whoe should preach and by what authority, whether the Cross or gesture of kneeling should be us'd or omitted in the Sacraments, these and the lyke are the things that occasion our quarrell. And truly might I without offence speak my thoughts, I should say that the differences in these things are not soe essentially materiall but might admitt of a charitable construction from the opposers. St. Paul's lyberty and moderation, in observing or not observing a day, eating or not eating, may be admitted in these cases for imitation. Therefore lett not him that prayeth by a forme iudge him that prays without, nor hee that admitts of the cross or makes scruple of kneeling, condemn the contrary, but rather receave one another as Christ alsoe receaved us to the glory of God, for certainly as the influences of spirituall lyfe are not soe much from participation with all other members, as from communion with the Lord Jesus Christ the head, soe neither doe these outward ceremonies, ether in the observation, (soe it be free from superstition) nor in the omission, (soe it be cleare from contempt) ether preiudice or promote true piety in any proportion to the more materiall parts of religion; so that it is iustly to be wondered at and seriously lamented, that Protestants who of all people under heaven have the most perfect example and exact rule of charity to walk by, should yet be so uncharitable each to other, and that in the prosecution of the wayes of piety, which if true are all sodered and cimented by love; I shall not presume to assigne any other grounds of these dissentions besides Sathan's malice and the pride of our owne corrupt natures, whereunto may be added the iust difference betweene a regenerate and an unregenerate estate, or they may arise from less materiall considerations as the meanes whereby or the manner how God works regeneration, the severall degrees or measures of sanctification, besides the different constitutions of naturall temper which shew themselves in our spirituall performancy. The cure of these differences certainly would be exceedingly promoted, by an observation of that catholike rule required by our Lord and Master as the condition of admittance

into his services, which is a denyall of our selves and taking up our cross. These would rightly dispose us to follow him in that other lesson of meekness and humility, and these togeather would ether take away, or much abate our private dissentions.

Heare I shall crave leave to the praise of the glory of God's grace in his beloved, to mention what God in mercy did for my soule by the operation of his holy spirit with his ordinances as theis are administered in the congregation of Protestants in the Church of England:

Wherein I shall declare
- Antecedents more { Remote / Neare
- Concomitants both { outward means / inward effects
- Consequents by theire { nature / continuance.

In all God's free Grace to a wretched sinner.

In the first I might look so fare back as to childhood, but as hereof I observed little, so would it be to little purpose to say much: about the age of 14 years I was sent to London to be an aprentise, more ignorant of the ways of God then was credible, in excuse of which, I can say noe more, then that there was noe preaching Minister all that tyme in the place where I had my birth and breeding: shortly after I came to London, where by the noxious course of some friends my intended imployment was deserted and I left to more vacancy, then was convenient to a youth at his entrance: upon what ground, or whose incitation I now remember not I was inclined to goe to Lectures, which I usually did twice a week, and hereby receaved both information of judgment and better composure of affections then before. After the expence of 2 yeares I was put to a Master where I mett with very little concurrance of naturall affections, though with some sutableness to my apprehentions, and thus much of the *more remote antecedents*. Of the *more neare*, the first occation was the drawing on of Easter, when both custome and iniunction prompt to the Communion, in consideration whereof my thoughts minded mee of a dangerous fitt of sickness which had befallen mee the yeare before, and seemd to poynt my apprehension of the unworthy receaving of the Sacrament (notwithstanding I had beene catechised by the Minister) as the cause which moulded my mynd into a more serious consultation

how to obtaine the benefitt, and avoyd the danger: for which purpose by such meanes as were concurrant with my condition I endevord preparation, and in want of liberty to heare sermons, and oportunity of discourse with men, was glad to apply my self to bookes: when came to my hands one of Parsons published by Bunny,[1] in reading whereof I mett with a relation of St. Austine's conversion, whereupon my thoughts began to mutiny and by way of sillogism thus to dispute. Austin that was thus miraculously converted was a saynt of God: the premises being acknowledged both by Papist and Protestants, the conclusion would necessarily follow, that, that Religion of which St. Austine was, is the true Christian Religion, but whether the Papist or Protestant doe more truely lay clayme to St. Austin and hould that Religion whereof hee was, I could find noe way to satisfy myself. By this I became sensible as well of the neglect of others, as my owne defects in not being better grounded in the principles of Christian Religion, whereby I was equally unable to encounter the assaultes, which were scandell to others if I refused to come to the Communion, and sinn against conscience if I came doubtingly, from both which Sathan suggested a remedy worse then the dissease, which was the renouncing of my religion. I shall not need to tell them that have had trouble in their consciences what I suffred, and if I should declare it unto others they would not regard it. The time thrusting mee on to a resolution, I bethought my self of our Minister, and from those reciprocall expressions which the Scripture makes of Pastor and People, I resolved to address my self unto him: for the avoyding mistakes, either in my expressions or his apprehentions, I digested my doubts into writing: having obtained leave in my way I mett with a kinsman of my owne then fellow of a colledg;[2]

[1] *A Book of Christian Exercise appertaining to Resolution, perused and accompanied now with a Treatise tending to Pacification*, 1584, 8vo, and repeatedly republished. The first part is a portion of a treatise by the Jesuit Robert Parsons, with certain alterations by Edmund Bunny, who united the part of a pluralist in prebendal stalls with that of an itinerant Calvinistic preacher. Parsons had given to this work only his initials, R. P., and Bunny appropriated it without knowing who was the author. By this book Richard Baxter at fourteen was first turned to serious thoughts (*Dict. Nat. Bio.*).

[2] Probably his cousin, Nicholas Ferrar, of Little Gidding, 'at an early age made Fellow of Clare Hall, in Cambridge, where he continued to be eminent for his piety, temperance, and learning' (Walton's *Lives*, ii. 106). For the relationship

and as they that are touched ether with payne of body or affliction of mynd are not nyce in discovering theire infirmities I shewed him of my troubles: hee was pleased to manifest a great measure both of affection and wisdome, in accommodating proper and particular remedies to my severall scruples: in the close, for better security he refer'd mee to a booke of Dr. John White entitled, *the way to the true Church*,[1] wherein I found a discussion and resolution of those which Sathan's malice and my own ignorance had generated: by God's blessing upon these meanes I attayned to calmness of mind with desire after the holy Communion. And thus much of the *Antecedents*: the *concommitants*, the *outward mornes* were prayer, receaving the Sacrament, and hearing the Word preached, which I mention in this order because in this order I was made partaker of them that day: in respect of the rehearsall sermon[2] at Paul's cross, in the morning there was none at our Church, but after service the Communion celebrated, which I receaved both with affection and comfort: in the afternoone I went unto an other church wher I heard a sermon upon the first and second verses of the 3rd chapter to the Colloss.: *If ye be risen with Christ seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God, set your affection on things above, and not on things on the earth*. And now I am come to the [illegible], which if I cou'd represent to your apprehensions I should not need to bespeak your attentions. The highest pinacle of Solomon's glory did noe more transcend the lowest depth of Job's misery, then the joy I now had, did the greatest comfort which before I ever felt. The Counterpane of that decree of Election which was made by the eternall Counsell of God before tyme in heaven, was at this tyme, sygned, seald and delivered by his holy Spirit accompanying his ordinances in the congregation of his servants on earth. And now

[illegible] Ormond's Chaplain [illegible] Nicholas Ferrar and Arthur Woolnorth were the great friends of George Herbert, and are several times mentioned together by Walton.

[illegible] Bishop of Lincoln, preaching to [illegible] London, 1606, 4to. [illegible] White was born in 1571, admitted as a pensioner to Caius College, Cambridge 1587, B.A. 1590, M.A. 1593, D.D. 1612. Vicar of Eccles 1606, Rector of Barnham [illegible] appointed Chaplain and Ordinary to James I. died 1625. [illegible]

[2] See vol. v. p. 25, note 3.

tell mee if you can, what this ioy is, but as they that have not felt it cannot imagine it, so neither can they that have, fully express it.

At last I am arrived at the *consequence* or effects which flowed from this fountaine and rann in three streames.

1 fayth in God: 2d righteousness toward man: 3dly contentation with my present condition. Fayth is that grace of God which ingrafts us into Christ Jesus our Lord, and is made evident by the effects and fruites, 1 a full assurance of the pardon and forgiveness of my sinns, & that God reconcil'd mee to himself, and 2ndly noe less evidence that I should never fall totally away from him, but by his mercy be preserved unto eternall life and salvation: another, because of the same streame, was a breathing after and delight in God's ordinances, in prayer, as the breathings of the soule after heaven, in preaching as the food of spirituall life, in the sacraments as a visible representation of Christ's death and passion, and an undoubted confirmation of the benefitts thereof. A third was an enlargment of soule in the prayses of God with love to the society of his servants, and desire that others might partake of that grace and mercy which God had shewed unto mee. 2nd Righteousness towards man was declared both in deeds and words: in deeds, 1° by a sincere and faythfull performance of the duty of a servant, in which relation I then stood: there was now noe eye of my master necessary to quicken my obedience or to regulate my practice, which were carried on with that assiduity as might seeme to render my master alwayes present. In words, for the truth whereof I refused not to expose myself to the greatest hazard: those commands of my Master and Mistris which hitherto had carryed all before them, had now noe force, more then what was consonant to God's commands, which had an influence upon all my performances, and therefore receaving a commaund to deny a truth I chose rather to deny that commaund and render myself obnoxious to the severest punishment of my Master (and it sometimes was severe) then to disobey the least commaund of my God: the same apprehention which required observance, in what was right forbad obedience, in that was contrary. 3rd was contentation with my present condicion which however in it self most mean and contemptible, and such as seem'd inconsistant with the least contentment, yet by god's mercy was advantagious to my present comfort. None ever gathered greater accommodations from the concurrance of all

earthly delights, then I now did from my low condition, whereby the variation of my course was made more easy, and those interruptions which prosperity casts in the way to heaven removed: another effect was sobriety, which commanded both my will and affections and at once cutt off those luxurious branches, which had sprung either from conformity with the world or carnall satisfactions: those favours or fancyes which till now I either enioyed with delight or desyred as pretious reliques, had a bill of divorce put into theire hands never to be readmitted, being not to be retayned without an abatement of spirituall comfort. And thus much of the *consequence*, for their nature; theire continuance is the last. Herein, as in all, God's free grace was the hinge whereupon all depended and whilst turnd towards him, yeilded nothing but soule ravishing delight and contentment, in manifesting to my owne conscience the truth of my conversion against all doubts and suspition. But least these might either coole or occation too much security, the hinge, though hang'd upon the unalterable decree of God's free grace in Christ Jesus, yet seemed to turn backwards and I left rather by consideration to understand then by sence to feele the sweetness of these comforts: thus at sometimes were the former ioyes interrupted. From this true though otherwise imperfect narration, these conclusions I conceave will result: first that true conversion is a sincere desire and endeavour after an universall reformation and performance of our particular places, accompanied with a deniall of all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and with that unseparable trinity of Christian graces, holyness, righteousness and sobriety, soe farr forth as may be attayned during this lyfe, wherein these graces are imperfect: 2*ly*, that where this conversion is ordinarily wrought, there the holy spirritt of God doth beare wittnes to the truth for substance though not warrant the perfection for forme of his outward worship and service: 3^{dly} that men in the present forme of administration of divine ordinances, in the congregation of Protestants, in the Church of England, the holy spirrit of God doth concurr ordinarily to the worke of true conversion, and also by the same administration, worketh repentance for such breaches and incursions as sinn dayly makes upon the soules of God's servants. The premises considered, my humble petition to them that have found these effects in theire soules is that they would not draw back, nor forsake those assemblies where by theire owne experience they have found that God in mercy doth so carry on and preser[ve]

the power of his owne ordinances as neither humane constitutions, mixt congregations or personall sinns, can interrupt those ends whereunto hee hath appointed them. And to them that have not yet found these effects, my petition lykewise is, that avoyding preiudice against the form of administration of the ordinances, or the persons, or places, they will in humility and patience wayte upon God in that way wherein they have his promise that they shall, and the testimony of his servants that they have found pardon and peace thorough Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory for evermore.

POSTSCRIPT, I would not have added more but to remove a double charge which is layd against mee by freinds of contrary apprehensions: some will have mee to be a superstitious formalist and others enclinable to the separatists: whereunto I answare, true and not true. In theire apprehensions possibly true, in the things themselves not true: if by superstitious formalist; they understand one that frequents the Church and congregation where God's ordinances are administered and desireth all things there should be done with reverence, decency and order, that thither nether brings, nor there willingly exerciseth any carnal affection, that puts an equall esteeme upon all God's ordinances, that shews reverence to ministers (notwithstanding some personall infirmities) for theire works' sake, and in some cases makes addresses to them, for solution of doubts, though not for absolution of sinns, that unto tymes, places and things sett a part for divine service hath such respect as is meet without superstition, that approves such abstinence in dyett, apparell, and other carnall contentments as may weaken naturall corruptions with least observance, I confess I am a superstitious formalist. But and if by formalist they understand one that puts religion in observation of humane constitutions, bowing to or towards the communion table and worshipping towards the East, that doth bodily reverence without inward devotion or apprehension of his Maiesty at that most sweet and most pretious name of my Lord and Master Jesus, that accompts ecclesiastical cannons equall to the cannon of holy scripture, that esteemes very highly of service anthems, homilies, and church catechisme, with the neglect of the minister, prayer, preaching, singing of psalmes and all other instructions, I am no formalist.

So and if by separatist they understand one that makes scruple

of doing any thing in God's service but what is warranted by his word, that desireth the whole congregation of the Lord were holy, that prophane and scandalous livers might be sharply reproved and, if incorrigible, excommunicated untill they had repented, that all reliques of popery and superstitious pictures were utterly abolished, that in all companies wee endeavour to promote God's glory, and to edify one another, I am a separatist.

But if by separatist they understand such as refuse all forms of God's service and ether omitts comming to the congregation or there by unreverent behaviour manifests his contempt of the service, that shuns all assemblies but those of his owne iudgment, and all Ministers but such as themselves have elected which are not alwayes so very well qualified, that will not baptise children because not expressed in the Scripture to their apprehen(sion), that accompts all humane learning and arts unnecessary for interpreting the holy Scripture, that hath a preiudice against the use of the Lord's prayer and singing psalms, I am no separatist.

Nor ever yett concurr'd soe farr in theire opinions or practice as to be present at any meeting or private fast that lookes that way. Whether Episcopacy, Presbetery or Independency be most sutable to the holy scripture, or that therein there is such a particular and exact forme of discipline prescribed as doth necessarily commaund observance upon paine of God's displeasure, I confess I doe not understand. Nor will I presume to iudg the expediency or unexpediency of an enforced liturgie, nor vex myself with feares least that now in force might suffer some change or variation, which possibly the constitutions of person, and tymes may have made convenient: I may not iustify those that altogether omitt the Lord's prayer nor commend them that use all other as a preface to it: I equally blame them that refuse to come to sermons either because there be prayers or because there be noe prayers: I will soe farr shunn Armenianism, as not to attribute the least inclination toward goodness to the utmost endeavour of nature: And I will also beware of such sloathfullness as may retard Christian duty or betray me to that horrid apprehension, which that I may be the less guilty would charge the sinn upon God's most holy decree. I will neither so undervalew humane learning as to deprive it of its due honour nor soe doate upon it as to conceave it should unlock those cabinetts of God's secretts which he reveales onely to them that feare him: I dare not subscribe to ether

opinion, Sunday a Sabboth or Sunday noe Saboth, the one may be too rigyd, the other too remiss: I am neither against King nor Parliament but for both, peaceably submitting to what the Lawes of God rightly understood and the good laws of the land rightly declared impose upon mee, if extream necessity enforce.

I shall rather suffer as a patient that I doe not, then doe as an agent what I know not. I will not chase iustice with more speed then they can safely drive that have the flocks before them, least my precipitancy preiudice them that are bigg with sorrow, and soe theire repentence become abortive: better many delinquants were delay'd then that one true penitent should be preiudiced. These are matters too high and wonderfull for mee, I cannot attain unto them, and possibly it is not my unhappiness to be thus bounded, for who hath been either a bringer up, or a voluntiere in these divisions and is guilty of less error then the not observing each word of commaund; as noe popular applause shall prompt mee on to any unwarrantable action, so neither shall any opprobrious name of Puritaine, Roundhead, etc. (by God's grace) deterre mee from performance of any Christian duty; of my own choice I will not break the rank wherein God hath placed mee, nor by his grace refuse to doe or suffer what hee shall appoynt unto mee, until further manifestation, whereof I shall make my humble supplication that hee, which took away the wall of separation from betweene Jew and Gentile, and that he might reconcile man unto God, took our nature into the unity of his owne person, will of his infinite mercy create peace between them who profess the maintenance of his true religion to be the cause of their divisions, that noe more of their blood be shedd, for redemption of whom Christ shedd his most precious blood, or if hee have appointed the sword in the hand of the souldier rather then his word in the mouth of his minister to be the way whereby hee will pacify his Church and establish his Gospell, that hee will make it knowne unto his servant who hopes hee desires to feare his name, and yett is not soe satisfyed that he can either assent to those doctrines that encourage to warr, though delivered from the pulpitt in his name, nor say amen to those prayers which in the same place are against peace, though put up to his Maiestie, but must Wayte the further manifestation of his will, and in the meane space, with Elihu in Job[1]

[1] Job xxxiv. 32.

pray, *Lord what I see not teach thou me, And if I have done iniquity I will doe soe no more. finis.*

1648 *Jan.* 19. King Charles was brought by a part of the army from Wyndsor to St. James, next day to Westminster to Sir Robert Cotton's house: the King's bench & chancery being ioyned in one and scaffolded, the Lord President Serieant Bradshaw with his trayn carryed up, the mace born by Serieant Dendy,[1] the sword by Coll. Humfreys, before him, and after him about 70 Commissioners,[2] M[r] Asky[3] a lawyer of the Temple, Dr. Dorislaus[4] a cyvilian, M[r] Cook[5] a lawyer of Gray's Inn Sollicitor Generall for the business. The commission by which the Court satt being read, Commissioners called, the Lord President commaunded the seriant at armes to fetch the prysoner, who brought the Kyng and placed him in a chayre: the Lord President said they were there assembled by authority of the Commons of England to try Charles Stewart, King of England, who had betrayed the trust reposed in him by the Commons of England, and commaunded his charge to

[1] Edward Dendy, Sergeant at Arms.

[2] Sixty-eight answered to their names (Gardiner's *Civil War*, iv. 299).

[3] Richard Aske or Asky, admitted Inner Temple 1606, called to the Bar January 29, 1615 (*Cal. of the Inner Temple Records*, ii. 88); Bencher 1633 (*ibid.* p. 211); counsel for Strode, 1629; appointed by the Houses Coroner and Attorney of the King's Bench, 1644; Junior Counsel at the King's trial, Sergeant and Justice of the Upper Bench, June 1, 1649; died 1656 (Foss's *Judges*).

[4] Dr. Isaac Dorislaus, by birth Dutch, Judge Advocate to Essex in 1642: Judge of the Court of Admiralty, 1648; assisted in the preparation of the charge against the King; sent by the Commonwealth to the Hague, where he was assassinated by a party of Cavaliers in May 1649 (*Dic. Nat. Bio.*).

[5] John Cook, or Cooke, son of Isaac Cook, of Burbridge, co. Leicester, Esquire, admitted to Gray's Inn Nov. 1, 1623 (Foster's *Gray's Inn Register of Admissions*, p. 171); called to the Bar Nov. 21, 1631 (*Gray's Inn Pension Book*, p. 309); called to be of the *Grand Company* May 24, 1650 (*ibid.* p. 376). There is a long letter of his to Strafford when Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, printed in *Camden Miscellany*, vol. ix., *Strafford Papers*, p. 14, where Cook is said to have been employed in revising an edition of the Statutes (*Mercurius Elencticus*, No. 56, 1649, cited there). After acting as Solicitor-General in the trial of the King and that of Hamilton, and his fellow officers, he was, in December 1647, appointed Chief Justice of Munster, and in 1655 Justice of the Court of Upper Bench in Ireland. On October 16, 1660, he was executed as a regicide. At a Pension held July 4, 1660, it had been ordered that his chambers should be seized (*Gray's Inn Pension Book*, p. 431).

be read, which done, the King would have spoke, but the Sollicitor Generall sayd: 'I doe in the name of the Commons of England charg Charles Stewart, King of England, with Tyranny, murther and treason:' cheif heads were for levying warr & calling in the Irish. The King demaunds to know their authority, which hee owned not.

The week following they goe to prove the charge, which done, his sentence was read upon Saturday, *Jan.* 27, 1648: and Tuesday about two of the clock it was put in execution by taking off the King's head att his Court gate. Hee was third sonn of King James, born in Scotland Nov. 19, 1600, was created Duke of York at White hall Jan. 6, 1604, and Nov. 4, 1616, hee was created Prince of Wales & Earl of Chester, began his raign March 27, 1625, raigned near 24 yeares: professed himself a Protestant att his death, forgave his executioner and all others whose hands were in that his unnaturall death.

Feb. 9, Duke Hamleton,[1] Erl of Norwitch, Lord Capell[2] and Sir John Owen[3] were one by one brought to the same barr, the same Lord President sitting with other Commissioners,[4] but the same Sollicitor Generall impeaching them. Duke pleaded the command of the Parliament of Scotland, Capell, quarter as a souldier,[5] Owen not guilty.

[1] James, Duke of Hamilton, commander of the Scotch army in the second Civil War, capitulated with the remnant of his force at Uttoxeter, Aug. 25, 1648, having 'the lives and safety of their persons assured to them' (Gard. *Civil War*, iv. 192).

[2] George Goring, Earl of Norwich, and Arthur Lord Capel surrendered at Colchester, Aug. 27, 1648. The superior officers submitted to mercy, but Norwich and Capel had received, the day after the signing of the capitulation, an assurance from Fairfax of quarter for their lives (*ibid.* iv. 201–6).

[3] Sir John Owen headed a rising in North Wales in June 1648.

[4] On Feb. 3, 1649, Parliament erected a new High Court of Justice to try these prisoners. Dr. Gardiner gives the date of the opening of proceedings as Feb. 10 (*History of the Commonwealth*, i. 11–12).

[5] These pleas were not admitted, as Hamilton was born after the accession of James I., and so came within the *Post nati* judgment, and in Capel's case a military promise was held as not binding on a civil court.

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THE TRAVELS AND LIFE OF SIR THOMAS HOBY, KNIGHT

[redacted]

THE TRAVELS AND LIFE OF SIR THOMAS HOBY, KT. OF BISHAM ABBEY, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF. 1547-1564

EDITED FOR THE ROYAL
HISTORICAL SOCIETY BY
EDGAR POWELL

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PREFACE

Account of the MS.

THE manuscript of the following autobiography is contained in a small paper volume, bound in modern red leather, among the Egerton MSS. in the British Museum, and is numbered 2148 in that collection.

This volume, of which the folios measure about 8 inches by 6, contains, firstly, a short pedigree of the descendants of Sir Thos. Hoby, followed by a note concerning the daughters of Sir Ant. Cooke, signed 'B. M.' Then comes the autobiography of Sir Thomas, here printed, occupying folios 5–182, after which, in the writing of one William Andrews, follows 'An exhortation unto death given to my Lord and Master the Lord Russell when he laye upon his death bedd in London. By Doctour Nowell, deane of Poules. 1584,' and an account of the death and burial of Lord Russell by the same hand. This is followed by a note of much later date describing the monument in Westminster Abbey to Elizabeth the daughter of Lord Russell.

Folios 186–202 are occupied with a rather interesting 'Description of the State of Italy,' treated under the following heads:—'1. The territories of every state; 2. Theire jealous quiett; 3. Theire feare; and 4. Theire dependancies and appoyes,' which is written in a sixteenth-century hand, but not by Sir Thomas Hoby.

As to the history of the manuscript, it can only be stated that it seems to have passed into the Russell family on the marriage of Sir Thos. Hoby's widow to Lord Russell, and then into

the hands of Sir Edward Hoby, eldest son of Sir Thomas, in whose writing, which curiously resembles that of his uncle Lord Burleigh, are most of the side-notes. Probably from the days of Sir Edward the volume remained at Bisham till towards the close of the eighteenth century, when the estate, then heavily encumbered, was alienated.

Be that as it may, the volume eventually came into the possession of the late Richard Bentley, the publisher, from whose executors it was purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum at Sotheby's auction rooms, in December 1871.

Omissions in this edition of the MS.

From the autobiography itself, folios 5–182 of the manuscript, want of space has necessitated the following omissions:—Firstly, several epitaphs and monumental inscriptions, which were copied by Hoby at various places during his travels on the Continent, have been left out. In case, however, any one should wish to look at these I give here a list of the places at which they were copied, and the folio on which they will be found in the MS.:—

Epitaphs	at	Rome	fol.	32,	about	8	pp.
,,	,,	Naples	,,	42,	,,	16	,,
,,	,,	Messina	,,	70,	,,	2	,,
,,	,,	Catania	,,	74,	,,	1	,,
,,	,,	Rouen	,,	112,	,,	4	,,
,,	,,	Mantua	,,	158,	,,	½	,,

There are also in the manuscript a great many side-notes in the handwriting of Sir Edward Hoby, which, as they for the most part consist merely of a repetition at the margin of such points in the text as appeared to him to be of special interest, have been omitted.

There have also been omitted nine folios, 162–170 in the MS., which refer to the Baths of Juno at Caldiero, near Verona, which Philip Hoby was taking to cure some ailment, and an account of which his brother has inserted under the year 1555.

The most important matter here is a translation into Italian of a Latin medical treatise on the Baths and their uses, by one Alcardo di Pedemento da Verona, a physician; there is also given

an analysis of the waters here, made in 1474 by 'Maestro Gerardo di Bolderi da Verona.' Of these matters Hoby writes: 'Thus much I found written of these baynes in an old booke that contained the origion of the familie of Bandi of Verona.'

Marks used by Author.

In the text which follows the reader will notice the use of a set of curious marks, viz.), ϶, Δ, θ, ♁, ⏁, ⏃, being facsimiles of those prefixed by the author to the names of the various places through which he passed in his travels, but of which he has given no explanation. Probably they were meant to indicate the size or population of each place; certainly the first mark,), does not appear to be used for any of the larger towns, while the last and most complicated, viz. ⏃, is reserved for the following towns: viz. Antwerp, Augsburg, Cologne, Ferrara, Florence, Mantua, Messina, Orleans, Paris, Rome, Siena, Spires, and Strasburg, which, according to this theory, should be of somewhat the same size and importance. The mark for Antwerp, however, is not always the same. The numerals that stand in some cases before these curious symbols are meant to give the number of days during which the author stayed at the place so marked, while those that follow the figures appear to give the consecutive numbers of the places visited by him.[1]

Date of writing.

The MS., as distinct from the notes, was written throughout by Thomas Hoby, and from the beginning in 1547 up to the end of the year 1554 has evidently been written out fairly and continuously. From the last sentence under 1554 (p. 119), viz. 'The writing began the xviijth of November, I ended the ixth day of Februarie following,' which is followed by a blank page, we may gather that the manuscript thus far was written out fairly during his stay at Padua in the winter of 1554–55. From 1555 to the end both the writing and ink vary considerably, as if written at different times.

[1] Certain explanatory words, chiefly proper names, have been inserted in the text in square brackets. The curved brackets of the original MS. have been retained. For the interpretations of several place-names and other valuable suggestions the editor is indebted to Mr. C. Raymond Beazley, of Merton College, Oxford.

Historical value

The autobiography here printed begins in the year 1547 and closes in 1564, and, for the period and subjects with which it deals, is of considerable historical value. For though we may regret that so much of the manuscript was taken up by details which have only the interest which must attach to a sixteenth-century guide-book, we also have here the reminiscences of a young Englishman of exceptional ability, during a period of seventeen years, of which a large part was occupied in travels on the Continent of Europe.

The circumstances of the writer were indeed exceptionally favourable, as his journeys were for the most part made under the ægis of his brother Philip, Ambassador at the Court of the Emperor, and a diplomatist of ripe experience. The stories told bring before us with considerable skill many interesting scenes in which the writer himself took part, and important personages with whom, during a period of exceptional political and religious interest, he was brought into contact. Where it has been possible to compare statements made in the autobiography with official contemporary records I have found them to be correct.

The Hoby family.

The pedigree of the Hoby family has been printed at considerable length by the late Dr. Howard in his 'Miscellanea,'[1] and again by the Harleian Society in their edition of the 'Visitation of Worcestershire in 1569.' In both these accounts the family is represented as a very old one, with a descent from Welsh princes and entitled to armorial bearings, which, if the documents printed by Dr. Howard be trustworthy, were granted by the College of Arms in consequence of a certificate from the gentlemen of the county of Radnor as to their validity and that of the pedigree they represent, drawn up at the request of William and Thomas Hoby in 1561.

[1] *Misc. Gen. et Herald.* i. 141.

The original 'Visitation of Worcestershire,' in the library of the College of Arms, does not give the pedigree further back than William, the father of Philip and Thomas Hoby, but the printed pedigrees have so far the imprimatur of the College that the arms to which they lay claim are registered, and these correspond with the elaborate heraldic display which adorns the Hoby Chapel in Bisham Church.

It is, moreover, a curious fact that Philip Hoby, before he was knighted in 1544, had applied for and been granted by the College[1] a totally different coat, being presumably in complete ignorance of any belonging to his family. This coat, however, is entirely suppressed in the Hoby Chapel at Bisham, where Philip Hoby is represented on his tomb as bearing the same coat as his brother Thomas.

All the above-mentioned pedigrees agree in stating that Philip and Thomas were the sons of one William Hoby of Leominster, in Herefordshire. Philip, the elder of the two, was born in 1505, and Nash, quoting from a manuscript in the College of Arms,[2] says that he came up to Court under the auspices of Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester. Here his talent for affairs of State was soon discovered, and as early as 1538 we find that he was entrusted with important work in the diplomatic service. He also held the office of Master of the Ordnance, and was made a Privy Councillor under Edward VI., and in 1548 was appointed English Ambassador at the Court of the Emperor. His sympathies were strongly with the Reformation, but even in Queen Mary's reign we find him employed in various financial and diplomatic missions on the Continent, a fact which shows that his great abilities were recognised both at home and abroad. After the dissolution of the monasteries he was a purchaser of various Church lands in Worcestershire, and in 1552 of the Bisham Abbey estate, in Berkshire,

Sir Philip Hoby.

[1] MSS. Coll. of Arms, F. 12, 78.

[2] Nash's *Hist. Worc.* i. 197.

which on his death in 1558, without male issue, passed to his younger brother.

Sir Thomas Hoby.

Thomas Hoby, the writer of the 'Travaile and Lief' here printed, was much younger than his brother Philip, having been born in the year 1530. At the age of fifteen he went up to Cambridge, where the University Register records his matriculation as a pensioner of St. John's College on May 20, 1545; but he does not appear to have proceeded to any degree. After two years' work at the University, where he was a pupil of the learned John Cheke, he left Cambridge to travel on the Continent and take up the study of foreign languages, with a view to a diplomatic career.

In August 1547 he left London, travelling in the company of John Abell, a London merchant in correspondence with Philip Hoby, for Strasburg, where, as the guest of Martin Bucer, he remained for nearly a year, reading classics and theology. During the autumn of 1549 his brother, then resident Ambassador at Augsburg, arranged that he should visit Italy, and during the following year we find him at Venice, Padua, and elsewhere, working at the language and other subjects, yet finding time to see something of the best social life, both Spanish and Italian. Later he travels southward to Rome, Naples, and through Calabria to Sicily, returning by sea to Naples, whence in the spring of 1550 he starts northward, and rejoining his brother at Augsburg accompanies him home, arriving in England in December 1550. His education was now sufficiently advanced for his introduction to Court life, which took place at Christmas 1550, when the King was at Greenwich, and on the 1st of January following he entered the service of the Marquis of Northampton.

In May 1551 he again goes abroad, this time to France, in the train of the Marquis of Northampton, one of the commissioners despatched to invest the French King with the Order of the Garter, and returns to England the August following.

In 1552 and 1553 Thomas Hoby was again in Paris, at work

on his translation of Count Baldesar Castiglione's book, 'Il Cortegiano,' on which his literary fame mostly depends, and which took, says its latest editor, 'an assured place among the books of that age and ran through four editions during the reign of Elizabeth.' To quote again from Mr. Raleigh's introduction,[1] 'Hoby's translation is conscientious, intelligent, and able,' . . . 'but his knowledge of the language was far from perfect.' . . . 'When censure has said its last word the "Courtyer" as done into English by Thomas Hoby is still the book of a great age, the age that made Shakespeare possible.' The 'Courtyer' was not, however, printed till 1561, and the translator's stay of thirteen weeks in London, during November 1560, was probably devoted to seeing it through the press.

In 1553 Hoby rejoined his brother Philip at Brussels, and at this date we learn the opinion formed of him by the learned Roger Ascham, who, writing to Sir John Cheke from Brussels in July 1553, thus speaks of him: 'Hic juvenis præclare ostendit ex cujus artificis prodierit officina. Frater ejus Dominus Philippus, vir prudentissimus, utitur eo, et utitur solo ad omnes res pertractandas in hac Cæsaria Aula: in qua perfunctione, tam opportune, diligenter, considerate, et tacite se gerit: ut illorum seminum quæ tu in eo puero Cantabrigiæ jecisti, non nascens jam aliqua spes se proferat sed florens, eaque insignis maturitas, in eo nunc adolescente facto sic emineat: ut recte quidem meo judicio ipse faceres, si effeceris, ut is intelligat, te non solum illum in hoc cursu libenter cum voluptate spectare, sed ipsum tam præclare currentem cum aliquo etiam applausu incitare.'[2]

In September 1553 we find Thomas Hoby back in England, and in 1554 he again accompanies his brother, who was travelling into Italy to take the baths at Caldiero, near Verona, from whence they did not return to England till the close of 1555.

[1] Hoby's *Courtier*. By Walter Raleigh. 1900.
[2] Ascham's *Letters*, lib. 3, No. xi.

On the death of Sir Philip Hoby in May 1558 Thomas succeeded to the Bisham Abbey estate, a beautiful domain situate on one of the prettiest reaches of the Thames, and in the following month took to wife Elizabeth, one of the learned and accomplished daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke of Gidea Hall, in Essex. During the next six years he appears to have lived a good deal at Bisham, where a son and two daughters were born to him, devoting himself to the improvement of his house and estate.

In the year 1557 we learn from the autobiography that Philip Hoby had taken in hand some scheme of new buildings at Bisham Abbey which must have been of considerable extent, since it is not till four years later that we hear of its completion by Thomas, who gives some interesting notes as to the nature and progress of the work done.

The 'Mansion House' at Bisham had been the residence of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury,[1] whose arms, impaled with those of her husband Sir Rich. Pole, are still to be seen there in the council-chamber window; but on her attainder in 1539 the King reserved the place for his own use. In 1552, however, Sir Philip Hoby was allowed to purchase it in fee farm, and the surveyor's description of the house at that date is extant.[2]

According to this document it appears that the house consisted of the present hall and council chamber, and a cloister which formed a square, with several other rooms of which the exact position is not given. It would seem probable that the cloister, of which only one side now remains, extended eastward, as foundations have been found of late years in that direction. Thomas Hoby no doubt pulled down this cloister and the lodgings about it and used the material for his large additions on the north side of the hall, where he tells us the turret was built in 1560. The fact also that his arms, impaling those of his wife, appear over the

[1] Mother of Cardinal Pole; she was executed in 1541: see *Calendar of S. P., Dom.*, for 1539.

[2] Appendix, p. xvii.

fireplace in the tapestry room seems to point to his being responsible for the rooms on the south side of the hall as well.

The monastic buildings were quite independent of the Mansion House, and were situated on the north side of it, nearer the moat, where foundations may be clearly traced in a dry summer. It is also interesting to note that as early as 1552 the Abbey hall and church had been completely swept away.[1] In 1561 the new structure appears to have been finished and the house to have assumed very much its present form, and in the following year the gallery was put up at the west end of the hall, decorated with noblemen's arms, which unfortunately are not now visible.

With the year 1564 the autobiography closes, but Hoby's letters preserved among the State Papers help us to trace his steps during the last few months of his life. He was dubbed knight at Greenwich on Sunday, March 9, 1566,[2] and on the 15th of the same month the Queen appointed him her Ambassador at the Court of the French King, for whose capital he started early in April.

His journey was not very prosperous. He writes to Cecil from Dover on April 7, saying that 'after much rain and foul ways we came to Dover,' and that owing to his wife having had a fall from her horse at Sittingbourne they were resting a day, and hoping to start on the morrow 'for Dunkirk, Calais, or Bologne.'[3]

'On April 9' Hoby writes from Calais, which since its recapture by the French was being newly fortified, relating a rather serious incident and his own unsuccessful attempt to see the new fortifications. The story is best told in his own words. 'About the time of our landing in Calice haven (which was iij of the clocke) a souldier of the warde at the towne gate with his arquebuse shott through oure flagg in two places, in the read crosse and in the whit about it. I sent upon information thereof to Mounsier

[1] See Appendix, p. xix. [2] Metcalfe's *Book of Knights.*
[3] *S. P., Dom., add. Eliz.* 1566.

D'Argos, Lieutenant . . . After supper came Mounsr D'Argos, wherupon walking together between the toune and the haven we talked first of pleasant matters together, and once or twice er we came to the Sandgate he made certain privie offres to return back again the way we came. I, meaning to have some sight of their new device of the haven that is brought into the towne, would not take uppon me the understanding of his meaning by enie privie signes, but walked still forward. When we were come even to the verie gate, "Syr," quoth he, "there is no passage enie farther, for there be certain things that way not for enie stranger to have the view of." ' They then turn back, and Hoby 'opened unto him what discourtesie had bine shewed by their men,' and after some fencing D'Argos at last replies, 'By the morn I will see what I can do to bolt it out who it was.' [1]

The incident seems to have weighed rather heavily on the new Ambassador, for he remarks somewhat pathetically later on, 'Beside this I note somewhat herbye of a hard beginning.' However the representative of the English Queen was not to be insulted with impunity, and within a day or two D'Argos 'declared he had set by the heels seven or eight suspect persons for shooting through the flag.' [2]

On April 25 he writes from Paris, and again on May 16, relating how he had been over to 'St. Maure sur les Fosses' to be presented to the King. On his arrival his Majesty was at dinner, so Hoby was first presented to the Queen Mother, and soon after to the King, to whom he presented his letters of credence from Queen Elizabeth. He thus describes the interview: 'The King at the opening of the letter, in stretching it out plaine to be read, tore out a good peece of it, whereat the Cardinal of Lorraigne smiled and seemed to make a scoff, and standing not farre of, the better to decipher . . . cast continuallie a glerenge upon her Majestie's letters, which when I perceaved I prevented

[1] *S. P., Foreign*, of Apr. 9, 1566. [2] *S. P., Foreign, Eliz.*, Apr. 11, 1566.

him, and somewhat (as it were unwitting of it) put myself betwixt the King and him to stopp his sight.'[1]

During May and June 1566 he seems to have been engaged in the ordinary routine business of his office, but his last letter, according to the 'Calendar of State Papers,' is dated at Paris on June 21. He died on July 13, 1566, having made his will only the day before, in which he directs that his body should be conveyed to his parish church at Bisham, where he was buried on September 2. No portrait of Thomas Hoby is known to exist, though a full-length one of his wife is still at Bisham Abbey; but in the church alabaster recumbent figures of both the brothers lie side by side over their tomb, on which are the following lines:—

Two worthye Knightes, and Hobies bothe by name,
Enclosed within this marble stone do rest.
Philip, the fyrst, in Cæsar's Court hathe fame
Such as tofore fewe legates like possest,
A diepe discoursing head, a noble brest,
A Courtier passing and a curteis Knight,
Zelous to God, whos gospel he profest
When gretest stormes gan dym the sacred light,
A happie man whom death hathe now redeemed
From care to joye that cannot be esteemed.
Thomas in Fraunce possest the legate's place,
And with such wisdom grew to guide the same
As had increst great honour to his race
Yf sodein fate had not envied his fame.
Firm in God's truth, gentle, a faithful frend,
Wel lerned and languaged; nature besyde
Gave comely shape, which made ruful his end,
Sins in his floure in Paris towne he died,

[1] *S. P., Foreign, Eliz.*, May 18, 1566.

Leaving with child behind his woful wief,
In forein land oppresst with heapes of grief;
From part of which when she descharged was
By fall of teares which faithful wiefes do shead,
The corps with honour brought she to this place,
Performing here all due unto the dead.
That drou this noble tomb she caused to make
And both these brethern closed within the same,
A memory left here for vertue's sake,
In spite of death to honour them with fame.
Thus live they dead, and we lerne wel therby
That ye and we and all the world must dye.

T. B.

E. P., November 1582.

To face page xvi

FORDUN.

dau. of = John, Lord
oke; *m.* ✝ Russell
7, 1558;
ecember
uried at
une 2,

RICHARD = Elizabeth
Of Badsey; dau. of Ant.
m. May 13, Bustard, of
1560; *d.* Feb. Adderbury.
11, 1616.

ELIZABETH = —— Parker
d. 1551.

= (1) Margaret, dau. of
Lord Hunsdon;
d. Nov. 1605.
= (2) Catharine, dau. of
Sir John Danvers.
= Catharine Pinckney.

Sir THOS. POSTHUMUS = Margaret, dau.
Of Hackwood, Yorks; of A. Dakyns.
o.s.p.

ELIZABETH
d. inf.

ANNE
d. inf.

odington, of Brea-
Nov. 29, 1687.

au. and
of Jo.
on.

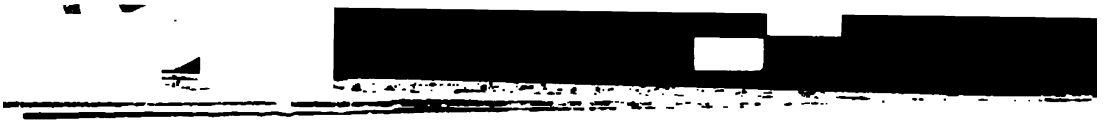
PHILIP = Elizabeth, dau.
Bapt. 1645; of of Tim. Tirrell,
Neath Abbey, of Shotover.
Glamorgan.

KATHARINE
MARY = W. Fleetwood

ELIZABETH

KATHARINE = Griff. Rice
✝ *d.* Sept. 26,
1729.

rt, in Ireland;
the baronetcy
es went to Sir
Hoby.



APPENDIX TO PREFACE.

Augmentation Office.

Particulars of Grant Ed. VI., No. 1699.

Memorandum.—That I, Sir Philip Hobbye, Knight, require to have of the King's Majesty in farme to me and mine heirs for ever the particuler parcells hereunto annexed, yelding to his Majestie his heirs and successors lxi li. xix s. viij d.

In wytnes whereof to this bill I have subscribed my hand and sette my seale the xx of Novembre in the sixthe yere of the Reigne of our Soveraigne Lord King Edward the Sext.

Phelyp Hoby.

Com. Barks.

Parcella possessionum nuper Monasterii de Bissham alias Busclesham Montague modo in manibus prænobilis dominæ Annæ de Cleave per invictissimum principem celeberrimæ memoriæ Henricum Octavum nuper Regem Angliæ sibi per litteras suas patentes concessa pro termino vitæ ejusdem Annæ si eadem domina Anna tam diu infra hoc regnum Angliæ permanserit seu habitaverit.

Buscelsham Montague et Cookham in dicto comitatu.

Memorandum.—The parsonage is parcell of the value granted to Mr. Weldon.

Redditus assisæ omnium tenentium ibidem tam libere quam custumarie solvendi ad festa ibidem usualia per annum xxviij li. iij s. iiij d.

Firma certarum terrarum ibidem vocatarum Warderobes et Bakfordes per annum lxvj s. viij d.

Firma scitus nuper monasterii sive Abbatie ibidem cum terris pratis pasturis eidem pertinentibus dimissa Thomæ Weldon armigero per indenturam ad terminum annorum, reddendo inde per annum xxxiij li.

Firma piscacionis cujusdam acquæ ibidem dimissa Johanni Tytly generoso per dictam dominam Annam ad terminum annorum, reddendo inde per annum xiij s. iiij d.

Perquisita curiæ ibidem cum finibus releviis heriettis et amerciamentis communibus annis vj s. viij d.

COM. BARKS.

Bustellsham Monteacute, alias Byssham.

Parcell of the possessions of Margaret, late Countess of Sarum, of high treason atteyntede.

The mansion howse or capitall mese there, wherein the saide late Countes of Sarum sometyme inhabited, is situate nere unto the Ryver of Thamys and adjoininge to the seite of the late monasterie there, being buylded partely of stone and partely of tymber and covered with tyles, wherein is conteyned a hall with a chembney, and at the lower end of the same is a pantery, a butery, a kechyne, a larder, and a lytell woodyarde. At the over end of the same assendinge by a fayre half pace is a greate chamber with an inner chamber and vj other chambers and logging uppon a quadrante, and underneath these chambers at the foote of the said hallf pace is a wyne seller [and] a quarante cloyster with certeyne small loggings on every side of the same, the which cloyster ledeth unto ij lytell garden plottes whereof the one conteyneth at either end lx foote and at eitherside lxxviij foote ; the other garden conteyneth at either ende iiij^{xx} iiij [84] foote and at either side cxxxiij foote. Is worth by the yere towardes the reparacions and mayntenance of the same vj li. xiij s. iiij d.

In reparacion of the saide mancon howse and kepenge of the same communibus annis c s.

Et valet clare per annum xxxiij s. iiij d.

Memorandum.—The said mancon house standeth viij myles distante from the castell of Wyndesor, and was reserved for thaccesse of the King's Majestie.

Delivered to Philip Hoby, Knight, vij die Novembris 1552.

Ex. per me, ROGERUM AMYCE.

COM. BARKS.

Parcell of the late Monastery of Bustelisham Montegue, being no parte or parcell of Mr. Welldon's lease.

Bustelisham Montegue.

The scite of the late Monastery there, whereof is standing the late prior's lodgings, buylded of tymber and brick and covered with tyles, sette betwene the Thamys and the Mancon howse of the late Countes

of Sarum, wherein is a lytell halle, a parloure within the same, a small ketchyn and a prety pantery with iiij chambers over the same ; also the covent kitchyne with an entry leading from the seid prior's lodginge to the same ; also a garden plotte lyeng betwene the seyd kechyn, the late prior's lodgings, and the maltinge howse ; also the churchyarde and soyle where the Abbey halle and churche late stode, being now altogether defaced ; also certeyne lodgings, parcell of the scite of the seid late Monastery, standing on the north parte of the cowrte before the hall dore, together with one orcherde wherein standethe a dove house, whiche dove house is letten by lease among other things unto Thomas Weldon, Esquior, and also a close called the covent garden, conteyning by estymacion viij acres. Is worth by yere xxxv s. iiij d.

In reparacions of the same—communibus annis xiij s. iiij d.
Et valet clare per annum xxij s.

Memorandum.—The seid scite together with the Mancon howse of the late Countes of Sarum was reserved for the accesse of the King's Majestie out of the lease made to Mr. Weldon of all the demaynes belonging to the same, notwithstanding one [Christopher] Allen, to whom the said Mr. Weldon hath assigned the said lease, clameth the said scite and also the covent close to be parcell of the same lease ; the which lease I coulde not see.

Item : [Robt] Figge, deputye to the said Allen, hath spoyled & caried awey from owt of the scite of the seid late Monastery all the seelings, being wenyscote of one parlour and a chamber over the same, and also x dores with divers lokks, glasse and iron, beside divers other things.

Ex^{d} per me, ROGERUM AMYCE.

A BILL OF TRANSPORTACION CHARGS, DYETTS AND OTHERS, TO BE ALLOWED TO THE LADYE HOBYE, WYFFE TO SIR THO. HOBYE, KNIGHT, DECEASED LATE THE QUENE'S MAJESTYE'S EMBASSADOR IN FRAUNCE.

[Add. MSS. No. 18764 Brit. Mus.]

	li.	s.	d.
Inprimis payed for the transportacion of Sir Thomas Hobye's stuff from London to Rhoane by longe seas, at his going over into Fraunce	vi	xiij	iiij
Payed more for the caryage of the same from Roane to Parys, and for the chargs of them that went with it	xiiij	vj	viij

	li.	s.	d.
Payed for xx^{ty} horses from London to Gravesend, xx^{ty} myles, and from thens to Rochester, v myles, and from thens to Caunterburye, xx^{ty} myles, and from thens to Dover, xij myles; after j^{d} the myle, in toto lvij^{ty} myles	ix	x	[sic]
Payed for ij shippes from Dover to Calys . .	vj	x	
Payd for the posting of xx^{ty} persons from Calyce to Parys, being xviij posts at xv souz the horse accordyng to the King's rate	xxxij	viij	
Payed from Parys to S^{t} Maur de Fosses, being one post		xxxv	
P^{d} to the marchaunts post for carying a packett of letters to Mr. Secretary the xxv^{h} of April		xij	
P^{d} for bringing a packett owt of England of the iiij of Maye		vj	
P^{d} for an other of the xxvj^{h} of Maye . . .		vj	
P^{d} for the sending of a packett of the x^{h} of June		xij	
P^{d} for the lyke of the xi^{h} of the same . . .		xx	
P^{d} for the bringing of the Quene's Majesty letters of the v^{h} of June		xij	
P^{d} for a packett brought of the xxvij of June .		xiij	iiij
Payed for the chargs of his Secretaryes repayring and contynewing abowt the Court at severall tymes from the xvj^{h} of Maye untill the x^{h} of Julye	vj		
Payd for Roger's my servaunt's charges ryding into Bryttayne and Normandye abowt the Quene's Majestye's affayres	viij	xi	
Item for Seton my servaunt's charges riding in post into England to certefye the death of my husband, and returning agayne with letters .	xx		
Item pd for horse hyer for my self and my trayne from Parys to Boleigne at my returne homeward	xxx		
P^{d} for my transportacion with my trayne from Boleigne to Dover by shippe	v		
P^{d} for horse hyer for my self and trayne from Dover to Byssham	ix	x	
P^{d} for the carying of my stuff from Parys to Rhoane with their chargs that went with yt .	ix	xviij	viij
P^{d} for the lyke charge from Rhoane to London .	vj	x	viij
Summa . .	clxix	xiiij	viij
wherof received in prest	lxvj	xiij	iiij
et remanent . .	ciij	xvj	

	li.	s.	d.
More for xviij dayes' dyett after iij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d} by the daye, viz. from the xvj of August inclusive, untill the seconde of September, on which daye my husbande was buryed . .	lx		
More for intelligencs to sundry persons and espiall at severall tymes	xiij	vj	viij
Summa totalis . .	clxxvj	viij	
unde for fytz williams .	xxj	x	
et sic clare for my lady .	cliiij	xviij	
Memorandum there is to be payed owt of the sayd somme unto Hugh Phitz williams, so much moneye as is dewe unto hym by the Quene's Majestye's warrants untill the sayd seconde daye of September 1566, viz.	xxj	x	

[Endorsed] ELIZABETH HOBYE.

DRAFT OF A LETTER FROM QUEEN ELIZABETH TO LADY HOBY.

[State Papers, Foreign, Eliz., July to August 1566 (P.R.O.)]

MADAM,—Although we here that sence the deth of your husband, our late ambassador, Sir Thomas Hobby, you have receaved in France great and comfortable courtesyes from the French Kyng, the Queen Mother, the Queen of Navarr, and sondry others, yet we make accompt that all these leade to gither can not so satisfy you as some pour testymony of our favor with the approbation of the late service of your husband and of your owne demeanor ther. Wherfor though you shall receave it somewhat lately in tyme, yet we assure the same procedeth only of the late knolledg of your retorn, and therfor we lett you know that the service of your husband (was to) us so acceptable, as next your(self and your) children, we have not the meanest loss of so hable a (servant) in that callyng, and yet sence it hath so plesed Almighty God to call hym in the entry of this our service, we take it in the better part, seing it hath appered tobe God's pleasure to call hym awey so favorably to the service of hym specially in the constansy of his duety towards God, wherin we here saye he dyed very comendably. And for your self we can not but lett you know that we here out of France such singular good reports of your duety well accomplished towards your husband, both lyvyng and deade, with other

your sobre, wise and discret behaviors in that court and country, that we thynk it a part of gret contentation to us and a comendation of our country that such a gentillwoman hath gyven so manifest a testymony of virtue in such hard tymes of adversite as none can be gretur lost ther, . . . and therfor though we thougnt very well of you befor (yet shall we hereafter make a more assured account of your virtues and gifts, and wherin soever we may conveniently do you pleasure you may be thereof assured. And so we would have you to rest yourself in quietness with a firm opinion of our especiall favour towards you. Given under our signet at our city of Oxford the of September, 1566, the eight of our Reign.

Your loving friend,

ELIZABETH R.)

[The above letter, with various corrections, is in the handwriting of Cecil. The portions now missing from the original have been supplied in brackets from the rather inaccurate copy printed in Ellis's 'Letters.']

LETTER FROM SIR PHILIP HOBY TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[Lansdowne MSS. 3, fol. 113 (Brit. Mus.)]

After my hartiest commendations I have bene often tolde of your comming to Bissham, whiche I have oftener looked for, and that also to have bene before this time. What shulde staie you I knowe not, but well am I assured that I have not heard one make so many promesses, and performe so fewe. Peradventure my Lady staieth you, who you will saie cannot ride; thereto will I provide this remedy to sende her my coche, bicause she shall have the lesse travaile thither, and you no excuse to make. Let me knowe by this bearer whan I shall looke for you at Bissham, that my coche may come for her, for other wise if ye come not there will chaunce a greatter matter then ye yet knowe of. Make my commendations to my Lady, I praie you, and till I see you at Bissham I byd you bothe farewell. From Wreysbury, the first of July, 1556.

Your owne assuredly,

PHILYP HOBY.

[Endorsed]

To the right worshipfull and my very frend Sir William Cicill, knight, at Wimbildon.

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A BOOKE

OF

THE TRAVAILE AND LIEF OF ME

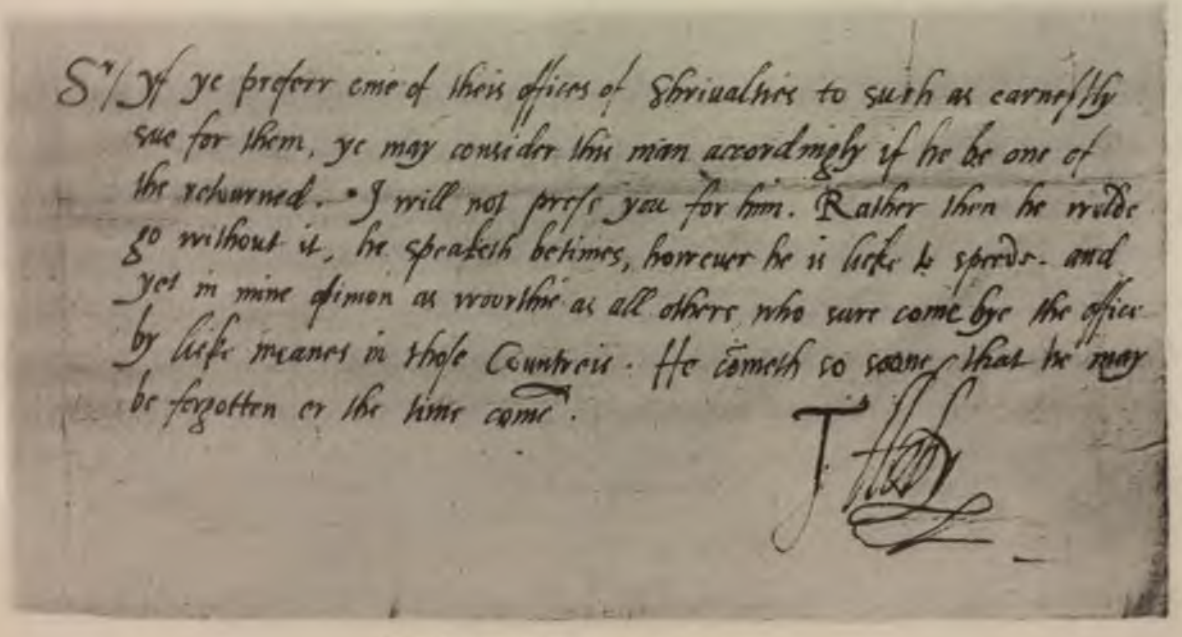
THOMAS HOBY

W DIVERSE THINGS WOORTH THE NOTINGE

CYPRIAN DE DUPLICI MARTYRIO.—At non credit in Deum qui non in eo solo collocat totius fælicitatis suæ fiduciam.

But he beleeveth not in God w placeth not in him onely y confidence of all his felicitie.

The yeers in this booke begyne upon Newyers day, accordynge to the Romysh computatione.



Sr / If ye preferr one of their officers of Shriualtie to such as earnestly sue for them, ye may consider this man accordingly if he be one of the returned. I will not presse you for him. Rather then he wilbe go without it, he speaketh betimes, howeuer he is lyke to speede. and yet in mine opinion as worthie as all others who sure come bye the office by lyke meanes in those Countries. He cometh so soone, that he may be forgotten er the time come.

T. Hoby

AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF SIR THOMAS HOBY.

A BOOKE OF

THE

TRAVAILE AND LIEF OF ME THOMAS HOBY

My Journey from the Toure of London in the Mooneth of August a° 1547, 2° Ed 6, into Germanie with John Abell.[1]

♃ From Calice to Gravelings [Gravelines].
♃ from thens „ Dunkerke [Dunkerque].
♃ „ „ „ Newport [Nieuport].
♂ „ „ „ Brugs [Bruges].
♃ „ „ „ Stekin [Stekene].
♁ „ „ „ Antwerp.
♂ „ „ „ Lovain.
♃ „ „ „ Peroway [Perwez].
☽ „ „ „ Corsiale.
♃ „ „ „ Richfort [Rochfort].
♃ „ „ „ St. Hubert.
☽ From thense to Burwaye.
♂ „ „ „ Verdune.
☽ „ „ „ Novyliacon [Nouilly].
♃ „ „ „ Vylserlon [Ville sur Iron].
♂ „ „ „ Metz.
☽ „ „ „ Senterfure [S. Epure].
♃ „ „ „ Aynchming [Ensming].
☽ „ „ „ Solwerden [Saarwerden].
♃ „ „ „ Sabern [Zabern].
♁ „ „ „ Strasburgh.

[1] John Abell. A London merchant of this name is mentioned by Strype as an exile for his religion in 1554.

Here I arryved the xvj[th] of October and remayned in Mr. Martin Bucer's[1] house, who was a man of no less integritie and purnes of lyving then of fame and learning. Him heard I in the Schooles in Divinitie, and sometime Peter Martir,[2] Sturmius[3] in humanitie, Paulus Fagius[4] in Hebrue, and Dasipodius in Greeke, who in their faculties were the best learned of their time. Abowt the moneth of December Mr. Peter Martir, Bernadinus Olchinus, and Jhon Abell went into England together. In January 1548 William Thomas[5] cam this waye owt of Italye towards England. Also S[r] Thomas Wyat[6] arrived here to go towards Italye.

Bucer and P. Fagius died afterward in England, whose deaths were not so much lamented of all menn as their lyves desired, and yet so lamented that they were celebrated throwghowt the wholl Universitie of Cambridge, both with orations and all kinde of verses in all three tungs after their deathe.

This yere in the warr that the Emperor[7] made against the Germanes, was the Duke of Saxonye taken prisoner. And the Lantgrave cam and yelded him unto th'Emperor as his prisoner, and were kept severally, the on was putt in prison in Vilfort in Flaunders, and the other folowed alwaies the court, having a great garde of Spaniards appointed to attend upon him. Th'Emperor was alwaies in hand withe him to make him choung his religion, promising him lyfe gooddes and libertie. But his constancie could never be corrupt for no faire proferr he made him.

[1] Martin Bucer, born at Strasburg 1491; embraced the teachings of Luther, 1521; professor of theology at Strasburg; came to Cambridge as teacher of theology in 1549, and died there in 1551.

[2] Peter Martyr, born at Florence 1500; joined the Reformers at Zürich 1542; came to England 1547; professor of divinity at Oxford 1548. (Wordsworth, *Ecc. Biog.*)

[3] Sturmius. Jean Sturm, born 1507, died 1589; a well-known classical and theological author, and a correspondent of Roger Ascham.

[4] Paulus Fagius, born at Antwerp 1504; came to England with Martin Bucer; died at Cambridge 1549.

[5] William Thomas, a well-known Italian scholar; Clerk to the Council of Edward VI. He took an active part in Sir Thomas Wyatt's insurrection, for which he suffered death. (*D.N.B.*)

[6] Sir Thomas Wyatt, of Allington Castle, Kent; leader of the insurrection, 1553-4, against the Spanish marriage, for which he was executed.

[7] The Emperor Charles V., nephew to Catharine of Aragon Queen to Henry VIII., and cousin to Queen Mary of England.

Electors of th'Empire by inheritance and succession are these folowing :—

The Archebisshoppe of Mentz [Mainz] and Maddeburg [Magdeburg], highe chauncelor of th'Empire ;

The Archebisshope of Collen [Cologne] ;

The Archebisshope of Trier [Treves] ;

The Phaltzgrave of the Rhyne Duke of upper and nether Bavire [Bavaria] ;

The Duke of Saxonye landgrave in Duringen and Marques of Meysson, highe Marshall of th'Empire ; The Marques of Brandenburg, Duke of Stetin Pomern. and Wenden, highe chamberlain of th'Empire. And yf of these sixe, three holde of on side and the other three of an other, then is the King of Boheme appointed to adjudge and determine the matter as he shall think most expedient, eyther on the on part or on th'other.

Jhon Friderick, after th'Emperor had taken him, was deprived of this electorshippe, and Duke Maurice, who had assisted th'Emperor in these his affaires of Germanye, was created Elector and putt in possession of most part of the townes of Saxonye belonging to that his electorshipp.

1548.

When Bucer had finisshed the little treatise[1] he made unto the churche of England in answere to Stephan[2] Bisshoppe of Wynchester's railing epistles unto him, I translated it ymediatlie

[1] The title of this translation of Bucer's work, which was printed in 1549, runs thus: 'The gratulation of the mooste famous clerk M. Bucer, a man of no lesse learning and lyterature then Godlye Studie and example of lyving, vnto the Church of England for the restitution of Christes relegion. And Hys answere unto the two raylinge epistles of Steuen Bisshoppe of Winchester concerninge the unmaried state of preestes and cloysterars, wherin is evidently declared that it is against the lawes of God, and his churche to require of all suche as be and must be admitted to preesthood to refrain from Holye Matrimony.'

'To his right worshypfull Brother Syr Phillyppe Hobye Knight M. of y^e^ Kinges maiesties Ordinaunce, Thomas Hobye wishethe grace & peace, through our lorde Jesus Christe.

'Imprinted at London by me, Richard Jugge, dwelling in the nourthe dore of Poules.'

[2] Stephen Gardiner, master of Trinity College, Cambridge ; Bishop of Winchester 1531 ; deprived 1550 ; restored 1553 and made Lord Chancellor.

into Englishe and sent it to my brother, where it was put in print. Abowt the beginning of this yere, th'Emperor (desirous to plant the olde churche of Babilon in Germanye again), with the assemblye of the Electors and other princes of Germanye begann a diete at Ausburghe, where they concluded among them the 'Interim' to bee used from thense furthe throwghowt all Germany; that is to saye certain pointes of religion whiche commaunded a meane kinde of doctrine betwext the papistes and Luthere's opinion, untill such time as the great Counsell shuld be held generallye at Trent, there to agree upon an uniformitie to be observed in all Germanye. This kind of Interim lasted in the countreye in his full force abowt a v yeres, (the counsell all this while being differred and lingred from time to time), and afterward the people returned to their accustomed preachings again, when a little adversitie was happened unto th'Emperor by Duke Maurice his meane mingled with so muche prosperitie of his in former time, as in the yere 1552, shall more evidentlie appeare.

At suche time as my brother, sent by the King's Majesty Ambassador towards th'Emperor, was arrived at Auspurghe, I departed from Strasburg as soon as I understood by letteres from him his minde was I shuld repaire to him thither. Leaving behind me there Mr. Christopher Hales, Mr. Richard Sadler, Mr. Jhon Aucher,[1] Mr. Jhon Cobham, with Jhon Abell, Richard Hill, and John Bourcher. This was the last time that ever I sawe Mr. Bucer, but afterward at times I receaved letteres from him. This Interim was not in my time receaved in Argentine, for that Mr. Bucer bothe writt and spake earnestlie against yt, yeven in Auspurck after he was sent for thither under th'Emperor's saveconduct, and at his return preached openlye that in case they receaved it, they shuld liese him, as they did at lengthe: for he went from thense into England.

I departed towards Ausprughe the fourthe of Julye in mye jorneye as folowethe:—

) From Strasburghe to Bisshont [Bischeim ?] . ij^{le}
) „ thense to Ingamnawght [?] . . . i^{le}
) „ „ „ Rostat [Rastatt] . . . ij^{le}
) „ „ „ Etlingen [Ettlingen] . . . ij^{le}
) „ „ „ Fortzon [Pforzheim] . . . ij^{le}

[1] John Aucher. Probably son of Sir Anthony Aucher. See *infra*, p. 127.

) From thense to Hamerting [Heimerdingen] . ij^{le}
) ,, ,, ,, Canstat [Cannstatt] . . . ij^{le}
∋ ,, ,, ,, Geppingen [Göppingen] . . iiij^{le}
∋ ,, ,, ,, Halbec [Albec] . . . iiij^{le}
∋ ,, ,, ,, Geinsbrucke [Günzburg] . . ij^{le}
⋕ ,, ,, ,, Ausbrucke [Augsburg] . . vj^{le}

Here I arrived within fowre dayes after my setting forwardes, where I found my brother lodged in a house that was onse a monasterye called St. George. By this was a churche of protestants, where on John Mæcardus was preacher. Th'Emperor was here lodged in the Folkers'[1] house and had assembled together the king of Romanes his brother, Maximilian the King's sonn, which went into Spaine, where he married th'Emperor's daughter, the olde Duke of Bavire, certain of the Electors with sundrie other princes of Germanye.

A little before this time was the Interim begun to be observed in all the citie; saving in a fewe protestant churches which at time of service were replenisshed full of people, whereas at the other churches cam verie fewe. I was sent for hither to have goone into Italye with Mr. Harry Williams, who was departed before mine arrivall, and the vth of August set forward thitherward as folowethe:—

My Jorney into Italye

θ From Ausburg to Lansberg [Landsberg] . . vi^{le}
θ ,, Lansberg to Fietze [Füssen ?] . . . vi^{le}

Here bee Bellies of Lutes made in most perfection and from hense bee sent to Venice and sundrie other places.

∋ From Fietze to Barbist [Barwies] . . . v^{le}
∋ ,, thence ,, Innspruck . . . . v^{le}
Δ ,, ,, ,, Matra [Matrey] . . . iij^{le}
) ,, ,, ,, Stertzing . . . . iiij^{le}
θ ,, ,, ,, Prixen [Brixen] . . . iiij^{le}
) ,, ,, ,, Klausen . . . . ij^{le}
) ,, ,, ,, Culman [Kollman] . . . j^{le}

[1] The Folkers' House. Probably the house of Antoine Fugger, the great financier, to whom Charles often had recourse for large loans of money. Folkers' silver mines are mentioned.

♃ From thense to Botzen [Bozen] . . . . iij^{le}
Δ ,, ,, ,, Nuenmark [Neumarkt] . . iij^{le}
♃ ,, ,, ,, Trent . . . . . iiij^{le}
Δ ,, ,, ,, Pergini [Pergine] . . . v^{ml}

Here beginn the miles and accompt v^{ml} to the Dutch league.

Δ From thense to Lievigo [Levico] . . . v^{ml}
) ,, ,, ,, Borgo . . . . . viij^{ml}
Δ ,, ,, ,, Castel Novo [Castelnuovo] . ij^{ml}
Δ ,, ,, ,, Grinio [Grigno] . . . vij^{ml}
Δ ,, ,, ,, Scala . . . . . v^{ml}
Δ ,, ,, ,, Symon [Cismon] . . . iij^{ml}
Δ ,, ,, ,, Carpinea [Carpane] . . . vj^{ml}
♃ ,, ,, ,, Bassan [Bassano] . . . vj^{ml}

This jorney hitherto shalbe better sett furthe and more at large with all circumstances in the yere 1554.

♃ From thense to Castelfranco . . . . x^{ml}
θ ,, ,, ,, Treviso . . . . . xv^{ml}
) ,, ,, ,, Margera [Malghera] . . xij^{ml}
♁ ,, ,, ,, Venice by water . . . v^{ml}

Here I laye in Mr. Edmund Harvell's[1] house, Ambassaodr resident for the King's Majesty, where I found also Mr. Jhon Yong, with whom I laye, Mr. George Speake, Mr. Thomas Fitzwilliams, Mr. Thomas Straung, and dyverse other Englishemen. From hense I went to Padoa and Mr. Fitzwilliams with me, which was the xvth of August. In this towne laye manye Englishmen, as Sir Thomas Wyatt, Mr. Jhon Cotton, Mr. Henry Williams, Mr. Frauncs Williams his brother, which died bothe in England the yere 51, Mr. Jhon Arundle, Mr. Jhon Hastings, Mr. Christopher Alen, Mr. Jhon Sheres, Mr. Jhon Handford, and dyverse other. Here I applied my self as well to obtain the Italian tung as to have a farther entrance in the Latin. The most famous in this town was Lazarus Bonamicus in humanitie, whose lectures I visited sometimes, Mantuan, Turnellus, and Caniolus in the civill

[1] Edmund Harvell. Possibly Edmund Harewell of Besford, Worcester. Philip Hoby had estates in Worcester, which might account for the intimacy. See also *infra*, p. 61.

lawe, and Claudius Tolomeus a senest in the Italian tung, and in logick Tomitanus.

The towne of Padoa is very auntient, built by Anthenor, as this epitaff upon his sepulcher, which is bye St. Laurence Churche, withowt the olde walles, makethe mention.[1]

C. Inclitus Antenor patriam vox Nisa quietem
Transtulit huc Enetum, Dardanidumque fugas,
Expulit Euganios, Patavinam condidit urbem,
Quem tenet hic humili marmore cæsa domus.

Som hold opinion that in those dayes all this waye was seea, and that he built his towne at the foote of Euganei Montes, which hilles are fyve miles owt of Padua: their reason is bicause ther are sundrie antiquities found under those hilles. As for this his sepulcher they say hathe bine placed here by the Longebardes, who found som certain monument of his, and here did erect this toumbe of marble in his memorye, for the letters are suche as the Longobardes did accustome to use in times past, neyther dothe the stile of the verses seeme to bee of anie probable authoritie or antiquitie. Other say they were not the Longobardes' letters but the Gothes and Vandals, which of long time have borne a great stroke in all Italy.

At the lower end of the great hall they have sett uppe a monument of T. Livius within the wall, whiche was a Padowan, and wrott the Roman histories. In the uppermost place there standeth his heade as livelie as it can bee made in stone, under that is an olde stonn with this inscription in yt:

V. F.
T. Liuius Liuiæ
T.F. Quartæ L. Halys
Concordialis Pataui sibi
et suis omnibus.

An image of brass ÆTERNITAS — An image of brass MINERVA

Under this liethe on bothe sides a mass of brasse, th'on is made for Tiberis, the river that runnethe by Rome, and the other for Modoacus, that passethe by Padoa, called in the vulgar tung la Brenta. In the middes betwext bothe these rivers there is a wolf of brasse also, with two sucking babes. Underneth this there is a

[1] Possibly Hoby made some mistake in transcribing this, as the first line does not seem right.

peice of brasse in maner of a skutchin within the whiche are these verses in golden letters,

Ossa tuumque caput cives tibi maxime Livi
Prompto animo hic omnes composuere tui.
Tu famam æternam Romæ patriæque dedisti.
Huic oriens, illi fortia facta canens.
At tibi dat patria hæc et si maiora liceret,
Hoc totus stares aureus ipse loco.

T. Liuius Quarto imperij Tib.
Cæsaris anno vita excessit
Ætatis vero suæ lxxvi.

This was sett uppe in the yere of our Lord 1547. The hall is verie bewtifull: all cawses and matters are pleaded here: it is full of clarkes and notaries that are continuallie writing. At the on end of it is the govenar's house of the towne, whiche is continuallie a gentleman of Venice and chaunged everie yere. At the other end are prisonnes & dongeons. The towne is ruled by two principall heades, the on is governor, called in Italian Podesta: and his authoritee is in the day time; the other is the captain over the sowldiers and the garison, and his authoritie is in the night. They have two severall faire howses belonging to their offices. At everie yeres end of there abode here they are chaunged, but not bothe at on time. They count the governance of this towne on of the cheeffest offices belonging to the Syniorye of Venice, and not much inferior to Candia and Cyprus. No man wearethe his weapon within the towne, but such as are licensed by the Podesta: which is the maner both of Venice and all the townes under the dominion of it. And by everie newe Podesta this license is confirmed, yf he thinke it so expedient. There are everie yere abowt August chosen two rectores by the scolars themselves, th'on for the civill lawe, and the other for art, which have the jurisdiction over the scolars that are in the Universitie; and without their consent there is no scolar punished whatsoever he doo, nor yet taken owt of his house. These rectors graunt owt writings wythe the seale of the faculties to whosoever will becum scholar: wherby he that is thus made scolar is freelie exempt from all custome and whatsoever kind of dace [1] is to be paid for anie thing

[1] Dace. Ducange gives under Data, Dacio: 'Tributum, vectigal; nostris Dace.' I have not been able to find any other mention of this word.

he buyeth, which is a great privileg. He is by this his scholarshipp bound to no lectures, nor nothing elles but what he lyst him selfe to goo to.

This yere the Duke of Guise cam throwge Padoa in the monethe of August, where he was honorablie receaved and took his jorney to Ferrara to espouse the Duke's daughter.

1549.

This yere the prince of Spaine cumming out of Spaine by sea to goo to th'Emperor his father, arrived at Genowa. From thens he went to Millane, where he was receaved by don Fernando Gonzaga, the governar. The vijth of January Mr. Edward Murphin, Mr. Henry Killigrewe[1] and I departed owt of Padoa towardes Mantoa, to see him make his entrie there, which was the xiijth of the said monthe. There was great preparation for the receipt of him. He was mett three or fowre mile withowte the towne by the yong Duke of Mantoa accompanied with the cardinall his uncle, his two brethren and other noble menn. He made his entrie an howre within night, riding under a canapie born by iiij horsmen. There camm with him more then a thowsand on horsback. His gard folowed him a foote. Before him went xxx or xl hansom yong gentlmenn, clothed all in white vellute, townsmenn everye on, withe a great chain of golde abowt his necke a whitte staff in his hand.

The first gate of the towne he entred into is called la Porta della Predella, upon the which was written on the owtside:

Philippo filio Hispaniæ Regi in quo Patris imaginem cernimus, Animi magnitudinem admiramur, fœlicitatem expectamus.

He cam throwghe another gate called la porta della liona, on the on side of it was written:

Carolo V^{to} Cœs. August. Afri. Germa. Impera. optimo. Regi optimo Philippo F. Hispaniæ. Principi magnanimo seculi spei.

On the otherside of the gate was painted an egle with herr yong birdes beginning to take their flight, and there was written:

Sicut aquila prouocans ad volandum pullos suos.

[1] Mr. Henry Killegrew, son of John Killegrew, of Arwenack, Cornwall. An exile for religion in Queen Mary's time, employed by Elizabeth in various diplomatic missions. Married, November 1565, Cath., fourth daughter of Ant. Cooke, and sister to Thos. Hoby's wife.

the gentlewomen a good space. There was at that supper Don Juan di Mendozza, the Emperor's ambassador there resident, who satt uppermost and took the upper hand of them all.

At Shroftide after there cam to Venice to see the citie the lustie yong Duke of Ferrandin, well accompanied with noble menn and gentlemen, where he with his companions in Campo di San Stefano shewed great sport and muche pastime to the gentlmen & gentlwomen of Venice, bothe on horsback in running at the ring with faire Turks and Cowrsars, being in a maskerie after the Turkishe maner, and on foote casting of eggs into the wyndowes among the ladies full of sweete waters and damaske poulders. At night after all this triumphe in a bankett, made purposlie at Mowrano, a litle owt of Venice, by the Seniorye, to honor him withall, he was slaine by a varlett belonging to a gentlman of the citie. The occasion was this: the Duke cuming in a brave maskerye with his companions went (as the maner is) to a gentlewoman whom he most fansied emong all the rest (being assembled there a l or lx). This gentlwoman was wyff to on M. Michael Venier. There cam in another companye of gentlmen Venetiens in an other maskerye: and on of them went in like maner to the same gentlwoman that the Duke was entreating to daunse with him, and somwhat shuldredd the Duke, which was a great injurie. Upon that the Duke thrust him from him. The gentlman owt with his dagger and gave him a strooke abowt the short ribbes with the point, but it did him no hurt, bicause he had on a iacke of maile. The Duke ymmediatlie feeling the point of his dagger, drue his rapire, whereupon the gentlman fledd into a chambre there at hand and shutt the dore to him. And as the Duke was shovinge to gete the dore open, a varlett of the gentlmanne's cam behinde him and with a pistolese [1] gave him his deathe's wounde, and clove his head in such sort as the on side honge over his shuldre by a little skynn. He lyved abowt two dayes after this stroke. There was no justice had against this gentlman, but after he had a while absented himself from the citie the matter was forgotten. The varlett fledd, and was no more hard of. This gentlman was of the house of Giustiniani in Venice.

Abowt this time there fell an other straung chaunce in Venice. In the Countrey of Friuli are two great families, whiche of long time have bine deadlie ennemies th'on to th'other, Della Turre

[1] 'A Pystolese is a shorte broadsword' (side-note in manuscript).

and Soveragnani. Of th'origion of this hatred betwixt them I could never gather other reason than this: at such times as the Venetiens sawght first to be lordes over that countrey of Friuli, they had the house Della Torre whiche was somwhat the mightier on their side, but the Soveragnani could never be browght to yelde to yt. Upon this they fell at debate and contention, th'on for their libertie, and th'other to bring in a straunge nation. So that muche slawghter ensued of yt sundrie times. At last the Venetiens obtained their purpose, and could never sett these two howses at one. About this Shroftide there were certaine justes proclaymed in Padoa to all commers at the tilt. The best price was a great cheine of golde, the second a rapire dagger and gyrdle faire wrowght and gylt. The third was a coronett of gold sett with pearle and stone, which was the ladies' and gentlwomennes' cost: and whosoever cam into the feelde with his traine best besene and galantest to the eye, with slightest cost, his shuld this coronett bee. To these justes dailie repayred sundrie gentlmen owt of all the countreys abowt, som to be doers, and a number to be lookers on. Emong others these two howses chaunced to runn bothe with their fawtors on their parties well apointed. There were great gentlmen that were put in suritie for them and bownd them selves to the Syniorye that repayring to thes justes there shuld no hurt be done. Notwithstanding as they mett at a chaunce together by the santo there was a great fraye and on of the howse of Della Torre slaine and certain on bothe parties sore hurt. Thus they left for that time hooping for a reveng at more leyser. This matter was taken upp by the Siniorye of Venice, and their sureties that were thus bound for them were handled to the most extremitie. They thowght it behouffull to banishe the Count Jhon Delli Soverignani, who was judged to bee the beginner of this fraye. When sentence of banishment was geven he prepared him self therto and taking wyff children bagg and baggage with him cam to Venice, entending to saile from thense to Candia and there to remaine in exile. As he thus taried in Venice a season attending for passag, being lodged upon the Canal grand over against San Geremia, he tooke bote manie times to goo upp and downe abowt sundrie his affaires. At his return upon a time he was watched, and by the walles side over against the house of Quirini there lingred a bote, snche a on as communlie carie frutes uppe and downe Venice, upon their

frutes they use to laye mattes to kepe them freshe and to defend them from the heate of the sunn. There were no mo in sight but two within the bote. Under the mattes there laye vij or viij parsons withe eche of them a hackbutt in his hand. When the gondalo that Count Jhon Soveragnani was in cam directlie against them they shott all together leveling all at on marke. Count Jhon was shott throwghe in manie places of his bodye. This enterprise thus acheved, as manie as were in the bote fell to rowing and made so sweeftlie awaye that none were able to folowe them nor decern who they were nor yet whither they went. The deade bodye was browght into the house of Quirini, where it laye to bee seene of all menn. When the Siniorye understoode of this murther they cawsed ymmediatly Francesco Della Turre to bee taken, who was than in Venice. But for all they putt him to the torment of the cord, they coulde never make him confesse that he was condescending or of counsell to this kind of murther. And the lawe is, except a man confesse his tresspace when he is putt to this torment, he shall never suffre deathe for yt. This chaunce happened in Lent. Abowt the ascention daye the Duke and Dutchesse of Urbin cam to Venice, where the Dutchesse, Cardinall Farnese syster, for that she was never there before, was mett a mile or two withowt the citie upon the seea, and receaved into the Venetiens' vessell of Triumphe called Bucentoro, wherin were dyverse of the Siniorye and nighe two hundrithe gentlwomen to accompanie herr to the Duke herr husbande's palaice within the citie. There a man might have seen the seea almost covered with sundrie kinde of botes, sum made like shippes other like galies some other like pinaces richlie dect within and withowt, besides manie other pretie vessells full of minstrelsye daunsing and maskaries. After herr arrival she was greatlye feasted, and before herr departure thense she sawe the Arsena of Venice where all their galies, shippes, artillarye, munition and such other matters were. After she had bine leade abowt yt, which lackethe litle of a mile in compasse, she was browghte into a larg room where she had a costlie bankett prepared for herr and all her companie richlie served of all kinde of dilicaties. Yt was in the after noone abowt fowre of the clocke. Herr cuming to Venice was to see the Sensa, which is a great feast there. And upon the place of Saint Mark is a great faire for certain dayes. The daye of the Ascension the Duke of Venice with all the Siniorye goethe into

this vessell the Bucentoro, and after they are a litle from the land they have a wonderous great ceremonie abowt the marying of the see. For the Duke takethe a ring of his finger and castethe yt into the seea, thinking by this meane to knitt yt so sure that yt shall never depart and leave the citie upon the drie land; as it is like to do in processe of time yf it contineue to diminishe still as yt hathe begone sith the memorye of man. Yet have they dailie provisions and officers appointed to the same to see the sandes and what soever is in the bottome in the shalowe places voided.

My jorney into Tuscane.

I departed owt of Padoa towardes Venice the vijth of June, where Mr. Jhon Hastings and I were onse purposed to goo with the great gallies into Sorria. From whense Mr. Edward Murphin was abowt that time returned. After I had taried a yere somtime in Padoa and somtime in Venice, and obtayned some understanding in the tung, I thowght yt behouffull to travaile into the middes of Italye, as well as to have a better knowleg in the tung, as to see the countrey of Tuscane, so much renowmed in all places. I departed from Venice the xxiiijth daye of August and went to Ferrara bye water, which is abowt fowre score and tenn miles. This citie upon the east side and the sowthe side hathe the great river called Po running by yt. The countrey is verie plaine and plentifull round abowt yt. Duke of yt is Hercules da Este the second, who maried Rener [Rênée], King Lewes of Fraunce the xij his daughter, by whom he hathe had iiij children, Alfonse, Lewis, the dutchesse of Guise in Fraunce, and Lucretia.

♉ From Ferrara to Bologna . . . . xxx[l]

This citie is placed at the rootes of the hill Appennine. On the sowthside yt hathe the Appennine, on the east the river Savena, on the northe the faire and bewtifull champaigne countrey, and on the west the river Reno. The Pope is lord of yt. Vicelegate there for him was Annibale Borio a Neopolitane. It is a verie famous Universitie throwghe owt Italye bothe for the lawe and other sciences, frequented with scolars from all places.

) From thense to Loiano . . . . xvj miles
Δ ,, ,, ,, Scaricalasino . . . iiij miles

It is so named because when asses passe bye this waye with their burdens, for the sharpnes of the stonie rocks that are here in great quantitie and evell waye, they are faine to unlade them manie times.

) From thense to Ferenzuolo . . . . x^{ml}

Abowt this castle of the Duke of Florence arrisethe owt of the ground great quantities of smoke. Here is reckoned the beginnings of the countreye of Tuscane.

) From thense to Scarperia . . . . x^{ml}

This is another castle belonging to the Duke of Florence placed in a verie faire plaine.

♁ From thense to Firenza . . . . . $xiiij^{ml}$

This faire citie of Florence is built upon the river Arno, which runneth through it; and the river is passed over by iiij bridges in iiij sundrie places. It is compassed on the east and the northe side with pleasant hilles full of frutefull trees. On the west side yt hathe a verie bewtifull plaine so full of faire houses that yt appearethe a farr of a great towne as farr as Prato. Yt is named Valdarno. When yt was a commune welthe the armes of the citie was a red lilie in a white feelde, but now yt is under Duke Cosmus de Medicis, second Duke of yt, which mainteynethe all virtue in yt. Within Florence is the faire churche called Santa Maria del fiore, all of marble; in the toppe of yt is the marvelous peece of worke called the Cupula, worthie to bee seen of all travellars. Without this church there is a rounde temple dedicated to Saint Jhon Baptist, which in times past was the temple of Mars, with gats of brasse, within the which is a faire vessell made of riche stones where children are christened. Abowt this vale it was that Hannibal lost one of his eyes riding throwghe the marishes, as Lyvie makethe mention.

In this countreye here growethe a wyne called Torbiano di Toscano, which is reckoned emong the plesant and delicate wines of Italye. In this citie I remayned vj or vij dayes with Mr Christopher Alen.

♃ From Florence to San Casan . . . . viij^{ml}
) „ thense to Tavernille . . . . vij^{ml}
) „ „ „ Poggibonzi . . . . v^{ml}
♁ „ „ „ Siena . . . . . xij^{ml}

I arrived at Siena the iiijth of September. This citie standethe upon hilles as the citie of Roome did in the olde time. It is counted vj miles compasse abowt the walles. The countrey abowt verie frutefull. The people are much given to entertaine strangers gentlie. Most of the women are well learned and write excellentlie well bothe in prose and verse, emong whom Laudomia Fortiguerra and Virginia Salvi did excell for good wittes. The principall matters within the citie to bee seene are these. First the highe churche, as well withowt as within, which may be reckoned emong the sumptious woorkes of Europe. The great Hospitall for the poore, the Markett Place, made after the maner of a theater. The abundance of water that is in fonte Branda. The schooles called la Sapientia, whereat is also a college for scholars, which for vj or vij yeres abode there, disburse at their first entring lx or lxxx crownes, to the great refresshing of poore scholars. The cheefe governance of this citie was in the handes of Don Diego di Mendozza, ambassador for th'Emperor to the pope, which manie times cam from Roome to lye there as occasion served him, where at his cumming he was alwaies more honorablie receaved outwardlie then inwardlie beloved. Under him were continuallie abiding there Zuan Gallego and Don Frances Dalava, Master of the campe, a garrison of v or vj hundrethe Spaniardes. Within a fortnight or iij weeks after myne arrivall in the citie Don Diego was receaved after the accustomed maner into the towne: and understanding certain English gentlmen to be newlie com thither, there cam a man of his to my lodging desiring me in his mastre's behalf to take a diner with his master that daye, and to bring with me besides such Englishe menn as he hardsaye and I knew were in the towne; which were Sir Robart Stafford, Mr. Henry Parkar, Mr. Edward Stradling,[1] Mr. Francs Peto,[2] where we were greatlie feasted and gentlie enterteyned. Besides these I founde in the towne Mr. Peter Whithorn, Mr. William Barkar, Mr. Edward Clere, Mr. Thomas Grynwaye, and Mr. Jhon Ellis, who wolde not go thither with us. Here I cam acquainted with the Marques of Capistrano, the Duke of Amalfi, his sonn, who often times shewed me great courtesie.

Th'occasion that this citie of Siena is som time under the Frenche King and manie times under th'Emperor appearethe

[1] Probably Edward Stradling (1529–1609), of St. Donats, Glamorgan, a scholar and patron of literature; M.P. for Steyning 1554; knighted in 1575. (*D.N.B.*)

[2] Francis Peto. An Italian scholar and military writer; Fellow of Gray's Inn.

cheeflie to proceade of their private discention and intestine discorde in that they cann not be brought to anie agreement betwext them selves. For they are divided into fowre severall partes, that is to saye, Gentilhuomini, Reformatori, Nuovi and Popolo. The commune people are called Plebei, which are on no certain part. There is no gentleman within the citie of Siena but is well knowen to bee of on of these partes. Gentilhuomini and Popolo were at the first beginning of the citie; the on of the commonaltie and subiects; and the other of gentlmen and rulars. And at length they that were named Popolo becam gentlmen also: for being the greater number they could not abide to bee alwais under the government of the Gentilhuomini. After long debate on both sides they cam to this finall accorde: that vj parsonnes on the on parte and as manie on the other shulde equallie and indifferentlie have the preheminence, dignitie, superioritie, and rule over the comune weale, which were called by a new name, Reformatori. Their issue and posteritie multiplied so in processe of time that there arrose of them an other part in the citie which usurped this dignitie of theirs, and as manie as were descended of them tooke more upon them and bore a greater stroke then eyther the Gentilhuomini or Popolo, drawing by amitie, consanguinitie, and force most part of the citie on their side. At lengthe their insolencie was suche and so increased dailie that the other two partes laide their heades together, eyther to displace them, or to find owt at the least some meane that the hole government might not alwais rest in this posteritie. The matter was long a debating before the Reformatori (which were so named as manie as were descended of the xij men that were chosen owt of the first two partes) wold cum to aine accorde: but finallie they agreede to chuse owt of everie on of thes three parts three parsones, which were called Nuovi for that they were nine, and thus had this fowrthe part his beginning even like the third. They and their posteritie continued long in this state untill such time as in those dayes the other three partes cloyed with this kind of government, and desirous of new alterations as communlie menn bee, by force elected owt from emong them a Siniory or counsell of sundrie heades to rule the commune welthe, as there is yet to this day, displacing the Nuovi of this dignitie against their willes, which were sore agreved at the matter, and repined greatlie against this kind of government, seeking all means to recover their former state again. For the which they

have bine ever sith yll beloved of the rest, and especiallie of the Gentilhuomini and Popolo, whiche not manie years agoo banisshed them owt of the citie by the reason of the great sedition and slawghter that was dailie caused by them on bothe sides. At length th'Emperor tooke uppe the matter and restored the Nuovi to the citie again and to their possessions, which were putt to the commune use: planting there by their desire a garison of Spaniards to see them lyve in peace. Notwithstanding there is muche murther emong them and privie hatred. This Nuovi is as great a part or greater then anie of the rest and most of the handsommest gentlmen in the citie are of yt. They are best esteamed of anie of the rest with the communes of the city. They esteame and make most of straungers of anie of the rest. They syldom times marye with the other partes except it bee with the Reformatori, which best agree together. None of all these iiij partes are suffred to have anie weapons in his house and speciallie to wear them abrode within the citie: nor yet other straungers, withowt they be licensed by the Sinorie, or by the Spaniardes that have charge there.

This yere was the rebellion in England in Norfolk and Devonshire, and the Duke of Sommersett deposed from his protectorshippe by the onlie malice of the Erle of Warwicke, afterwards created Duke of Northumberland. And before that the Duke of Sommersett had cawsed Sir Thomas Seymer, lord admerall, his owne brother, to be beheaded at the Towre hill. As I remayned thus in Siena newes cam of the deathe of pope Paul,[1] the third of that name, which diede the ixth of November. And seeing manie cardinalles resort thither dailie towardes Roome owt of sundrie parties to the election of an other, I thowght it convenient to make a jorneye thither at this time being so nighe, as well to the citie as to beholde the maner of the obsequies and the fasshion how they elect an other. The xvi of the same monthe I departed owt of Siena in Cardinall Salviati his companye whiche cam throughe the towne to go to Roome, caried in a littar. There went also Mr. Henry Parkar, Mr. Barkar, and Mr. Whitehorn. Ymmediatlie after the pope's deathe Ascanio Colonna went abowt to recover his state again, which the pope had taken from him, and abowt two hundrethe Spaniardes were con-

[1] Paul III., Alessandro Farnese, elected 1534. He was the Pope who excommunicated Henry VIII. in 1538.

ducted owt of Siena by Don Frances D'Alava to restore Fabricio Colonna, his eldest son, into possession of his fathers lands.

My jorney from Siena to Roome.

♃ From Siena went to Buonconvento . . xij^{ml}
♃ From thense to San Quirico . . . viij^{ml}
♂ „ „ „ Paglia . . . . x^{ml}

Here endeth the dominion of Siena, and passing the river we enter into the territorye of the pope. This village is called Paglia bicause yt standeth by the river of the same name.

♃ From thense to Acquapendente . . . xij^{ml}
☽ „ „ „ San Lorenzo . . . vj^{ml}
♃ „ „ „ Bolsena . . . . iij^{ml}

This is an antient towne and in times past on of the xii of Tuscane called urbs Vulsinentium. There were the xii: Gianiculum, Arinianum, Fesuli, Aringianum, Fregine, Volce, Volaterra, Carriara, Oggiano, Arezzo, Roselli, Volsinio. By this towne there is a faire lague so called.

♃ From Bolsena to Montefiascon . . . vj^{ml}

This towne was wont to be named Mons Phiscon and Arx Iti. Betwext Bolsena and this we ride throwghe the wode of Tuscane called in the olde time lucus Vulsinentium or lucus Hetruriæ. Abowt this towne there growe verie good and pleasant wines, as malvoseye and such other.

♃ From Montifiascon to Viterbo . . . viij^{ml}

To this towne we ride throwghe a plesant valleye where it is placed with a plentifull countrey abowt yt, not far from yt are the baynes called Bagni di Caie, verie profitable for most diseases: now they are communlie named Bagni del Bolicano.

☽ From Viterbo to Rossiglione (Ronciglione) . ix^{ml}

By this towne there is a lague called lago del vico, and in the old time lacus Cyminus.

♂ From thense to Monte Rose . . . ix^{ml}

Here is also a lague so called, not verie bigg, but wonderous deepe.

) From thense to Baccano . . . . vj^{ml}

By this is a lague called also Baccano owt of the which the litle river Cremera, so named in times past, hathe his beginning and goethe into the Tever. By this river yt was that three hundrethe and sixe of the fabii were slaine, with five thowsand of their servaunts, by the Veienti, as Lyvie makethe mention in his second booke. Here is a wood called Silva Mesia in times past.

Ə From Baccano to la Isola . . . . vj^{ml}
⸸ From thense to Roome . . . . viij^{ml}

When we arrived in Roome we saw dailie in St. Peter's churche verie solemn masses of requiem for the pope's deathe, after the maner of Roome, song by the cardinalles, everie on sitting according to his degree in a chappell, where the image of pope Xistus liethe all in brasse curiouslie wrought, with the Muses all abowt him. Abowt the later end of November, at the certain time limited for all cardinalls of the seea of Roome to repaire thither for the election of a new pope, all such cardinalles as were then in Roome, after on solemn masse of the holie ghost song emong them, entred into the conclave according to the accustomed maner; that is to saye, into suche rowmes as are belonging unto the pope in his palaice, as the utter chambares, the hall above, the chappell and suche other wide places, where everie cardinall had beforehand a litle cabbin prepared for him, hanged and separated from the rest with his owne hangings, withowt anie light at all, except so muche as he lettethe in by the pinninge uppe of the hanging in the place where he entrethe into this cabbin, within the whiche he had so muche place that sufficed for a litle standing cowrt bedd for himself, a pallet for two of his servants, whom he lysted to have within with him, on litle square table and a coffer for his stuff. When they were all entred together into this conclave everie dore and wyndowe where anie yssue was in anie place round abowt them was after the maner mured uppe, saving a litle part of the verie toppe of the wyndowes on highe, in manie places owt of manne's reache, whiche to lett in light was left open, and a litle dresser in that great dore that menn used most communlie to cum in and owt at. Throwghe this dresser everie cardinalle's owne

provision, browght thither from his owne palaice by his servaunts, was putt in and delivered unto the ij servaunts he had within attending upon him, the assaye or tast thereof first taken, whatsoever was browght thither. In this sort remayned they a good space attending for viij or ix cardinalles owt of Fraunce, for before their arrivall the Cardinall of Ferrara with the rest of the French partie would goo abowt nothing. When all were cum and convayed in emong the rest they remaine thus shutt uppe untill suche time as by agreement of the most part they have elected a new pope, except they find themselves yll at ease, as iij or iiij of them were at this time, whiche were permitted to go lye at their owne palaices, where on or two of them diede. During this time of vacation of the seea of Roome the consistorie (by the meane of Cardinall Farnese, then cheefe doer, and the Cardinall of Saint Angelo his brethren) confirmed unto Duke Octavio the Dukedom of Parma and unto Horatio his yonger brother the Dukedom of Camerino, and appointed him also generall for the churche over fyve or sixe thowsand souldiers which during this time were there taken uppe to serve the churche. To the custodie of the castle of Saint Angelo was appointed a bisshoppe, and afterwards was rewarded with a red hatt. The pope that diede laye buried under a heape of earthe by the walles side within Saint Peter's churche, paled in, untill suche time as a more honorable sepulture were made readie for him, which his fowre nephewes Cardinall Farnese, Cardinall of Saint Angelo, Duke Octavio and Duke Horatio had cawsed to be taken in hand for him by Michael Angelo. During the time of mine abode in Roome Don Diego and the Marquis Capistrano shewed me great entertainment and muche gentlnes. There were besides in Roome that cam after us Sir Robert Stafford, Mr. Francs Peto, Mr. Edward Murphin, Filpott, Christophersonn, Harding Boxwell. The citie of Roome is in circuite abowt the walles xv miles. The walles have at this daye 365 towres where in the old time they were wont to have 734 when it most florisshed. There are twenty gates now, whereas were in times past xxxiiij. The better half of the citie within the walles is desert and not inhabited, and especiallie the seven hilles, Campidoglio, Palatino, Celio, Aventino, Squille, Viminale, Quirinale, otherwise called Monte Cavallo, by the reason of two horses of marble that were made by Phidias and Praxiteles, sett uppe there. Upon these vij hilles was wont in the olde time to consist

all the majestie of the citie, as it may well appere by the ruines upon them. The part of Roome that is now most inhabited was wont to be called Campus Martius, bicause it was a faire plaine feelde and there the yowthe of the citie did accustome to excercise feates of armes. Also Vaticanum on this side the river, where the pope's palaice is and the castle of Saint Angelo which is called Borgo Nuovo and Borgo Vecchio. The river of the Tever [Tiber] is passed from the on side of the citie to the other by five severall bridges. There be seven principall famous churches abowt Roome, as Saint Peter, Saint Jhon Laterane, Santa Maria Magiore, Santa Croce in Hierusalem, these within the walles: and Saint Paul, Saint Laurence, and St. Sebastian withowt the walles.

There be sundrie faire antiquities to be seene within Roome, as in the Campidoglio in the palaice of the Conservatori, and in Belvedere manie statures, stones and inscriptions. There is also Santa Maria rotonda, called in the old time Pantheon, which is the fayrest and perfectest antiquitie abowt Roome. The Triumphall Arkes of Constantin, Vespasian and Septimius. The Coliseo, or Amphitheater. The beawtifull pillar by St. Petre's churche called la guccia di san Pietro. And the ruines abowt the seven hilles the whiche I passe over all: and the particularities therof I leave to the searchers owt of them by the instructions of Lucias Faunus, Martian, and Biondo, which all have written verie diligentlie of the antiquities of the citie of Roome. And by probable reason have ghessed upon manie things for the whiche no certaintie is to bee alleged. Bicause in times past the citie hathe oftentimes bine enlarged and taken in again as occation served. For Vopiscus writethe that in the time of themperor Aurelianus the citie was in circuite fyftie mile. And Pliny saithe that it was in his time twentie miles compasse. In our dayes now it is xv miles abowt the walles, and not half inhabited within.

1550.

After Mr. Barker, Mr. Parker, Whitehorn and I had throwghlie searched owt suche antiquities as were here to bee seene from place to place, having bestowed all this time of owr beeing here abowt the same, we thowght it but losse of time to make anie longer abode here. And we taried the longer to see yf the cardinalles

wold elect a new pope. It was thowght Cardinall Poole [1] shulde have bine pope. Yf he had receaved the cardinalles' offer overnight as he entended in the morning folowing, he had surelie bine so. And in the morning when all the souldiers of Roome, and a great multitude of people besides, were assembled in the Markett place of Saint Peter's to have seene Cardinall Poole proclamed pope, he had lost by the Cardinall of Ferrara his meanes the voice of manie cardinalls of the French partie, persuading them that Cardinall Poole was both Imperiall and also a verie Lutherian. So that morning passed withowt anie thing done, contrarie to the expectation of all menn. After the election of Cardinall Poole was thus passed the commune opinion was, that by the reason of the factions Emperiall and Frenche that were emong them, they would not so soone agree afterward, for there was no on in the hole Consistorie that was generallie so well beloved as he was of them all, and never declared himself neyther Emperiall nor Frenche. But Don Diego labowred what he colde to make him pope, and so did all the Emperiall Cardinalles that were within the conclave, but the Frenche partie was against him. Upon this we determined in the meane time to make a journeye to Naples. And as we cam to Roome together, so not to depart companie untill we cam thither. We sett owt of Roome in a vessell towardes Naples the x of Januarye; the same night we laye upon the Tever. The next morning we cam to Ostia, a verie auntient citie, which folowing the cowrse of the river is xxij miles from Roome. And after we had proved where the best passage was, we sailed into the seea, which is a v or vi miles from Ostia. The Tever cummith unto the see with a quiet swyft streame and the force of it is suche that yt driveth the salt water back almost two miles. At the meeting of it with the see where it must needes entre into the salt water, yt taketh on in suche wise that there arrise great waves from the on banke to the other with such quantitie of thicke sandes that in passing over them manie vessells are not communlie in great jeopardie onlie, but also sumtime certain are swalowed uppe by the waves, as we were enformed in passing over. After we were thus cum into the see, we sayled all that night after and passed Monte Circello, which is four score and tenn miles from the place where the Tever entrethe into the seea.

[1] Cardinal Pole. Reginald Pole (1500–1558); Cardinal 1536; Archbishop of Canterbury 1555; son of Sir Richard Pole. (*D.N.B.*)

This hill is almost an yland within the seea and may bee seen farr of. In a litle port under the hill lye manie times Moores and Turks with their foistes [1] and other vesselles to take the passinger vesselles that goo betwixt Roome and Naples. And we were afterward enformed that this time there laye ix, so that yf we had cum bye yt by daye as we did by night, we had bine all taken slaves. From hense we sayled to Gaieta, which is thirtie miles, with fowle wether and the winde almost against us. This is an auntient towne taking his name of Eneas' nurse so named and buried there, as Virgil makethe mention,

> Tu quoque littoribus nostris Æneia nutrix
> Æternam moriens famam Caieta dedisti.[2]

This towne is verie strong situated upon a large rock whiche is in maner an yland. It is cownted on of the strongest holdes in all christendom. Above yt upon a verie rock is also a strong castle which lookethe on everie side towardes the seea, at the entrie wherof on the left hand is a litle chappell wherin is fastened upon the walles sides a coffin covered with blacke vellute, with the armes of Fraunce barred upon yt. And therin was Charles Duke of Burbon buried which died 1527 at the sacke of Roome. There is also a place within the rocke whiche seemethe that the verie stone hathe bine cloven a sunder as a thing that hathe bine onse joyned together, which is a wondrous strang thing to beholde. Passing throwghe this clyft we cum into a litle larg rowme where is founded a chappell. They say here yt clave in sunder at the verie time when our Savior Christ suffred his passion, and yt is communlie called la Trinita, to the whiche there is dailie great resort from sundrie places abowt, with much devotion, and speciallie on the holie dayes. Abowt this towne is a verie plentifull countrey, and sundrie kindes of fructes, as olyves, aranges, lymones, figgs, and plentie of wynes. Betwext Gaieta and Naples we were sailing two dayes, which is lx miles by seea: we passed by the iland of Pontia [Ponza], whiche they saye was Pontius Pilate's inheritance. And we sailed by Ischia and Procida, and so cam to the citie of Naples, where we arrived the fift day after owr setting furthe of Roome.

[1] Foist, a barge or pinnace (Halliwell).

[2] *Æn.* vii. 1.

Neapolis. Terra di lavoro.

Naples is a verie beawtifull citie situated betwext the seea and verie pleasant hilles, full of howses, well fortified of late dayes with a strong wall that th'Emperor hathe begonne abowt yt, replenisshed with sumptious palaces, delicious gardines, and sundrie divises of fountaynes round abowt yt.

There be three strong castles belonging to yt, Castel Nuovo within the citie by the seea side where the Vicere lyethe, and where the most part of munitions and artillarie is: Castel San Martino, now within the walles, a verie rock upon the toppe of the hill, wrowght owt of the hard stone by force of hand, a wondrous matter to beholde. And Castello dell'Ovo somwhat withowt the citie upon the seea side. As for that was wont to bee called Castello Capuano it is no more a castle, but the on part of yt servethe for a prison; the other part above is full of faire chambres and plesant rowmes where the counselles, parlements and tearmes are kept on th'Emperors and the citie's behalfes. There are within the citie fowre places called 'Seggi,' which are upon the streetes open on all sides saving on the one side where they joine to other howses. The on is called Seggio Capuano, bicause of the streete that goethe by yt unto the gate towarde Capua, the other Seggio de Nido. The third Seggio della Montagna. And the fowrthe Seggio di San Georgio. In these fowre places do princes, dukes, marquesses, erles, barons, knightes, and squiers gather together to sitt upon and to debate emong them the matters of the citie. There be few princes, dukes, erles or barones within the realm which have not within the citie a palaice belonging unto them. Emong the whiche are most beawtifull the Duke of Gravines palaice, which yf yt were ended may compare with anie in Italie, and the Prince of Salernoe's, whiche is also verie faire.

The streetes in Naples are for the most part narrower then in anie other citie, notwithstanding they are of a good lengthe and verie straight. Wythin the citie is an Universitie, unto the whiche scholars repaire from manie places, and the same that was wont to be at Salerno is now browght to Naples and made all on. On the seea side sowthward by Castel Nuovo is the faire pire made in times past by Charles the second, King of Naples, for the safgard of shippers. This citie is abundant with all things that are

behouffull for the lyff of man, and in yt is plentie of delicate wines, as vino Greco, a verie strong wine, which as I beleve is so called bicause of Torre del Greco, where it is shipped to be transported unto Roome and other places, and not because yt cam owt of Greece, as som hold opinion; also Maniaguerra, a sweete wine of a verie highe color, Vernaccia, a strong headie wine, Romanesco, which is dronke for a delicate wine in wynter, Latino, which is a delicate small wine for sommer, and dyverse other. The Vicere and cheefe governor here was Don Pietro di Tolledo for th'Emperor, verie well beloved both in the citie and throwghowt the realm. Don Garzia his sonn was captain over sixe gallies belonging to the towne. He hath purchased much landes in this realm and beginnethe to build a faire palice with a pleasant gardin hard by the towne. The citie of Naples is very auntient and was alwais (as T. Livius saith) faithfull and very obedient to the senat of Roome.

Here is within the citie a very bewtifull and large hospitall, wheras are continuallie both gentlmen and poore men and in like maner women which are placed according to their disease and served according to their degree, with a good order and cumlie to behold; great revenwes are belonging unto yt, and a great multitude of people alwais within yt.

After we had taried a season within the citie and searched owt whatsoever there was worthie to bee seen, we thowght it behouffull to mak now and then a jorney abowt the countrey called in times past Campania, and now Terra di lavoro, so muche spoken of and renowed in all writers wherof Naples is the cheef head citie.

This Terra di lavoro (whiche men hold opinion to be so named by the reason of the good and slight tillage) is in lengthe from the river Garigliano on the west side, unto the river Silaro on the east. And in breadethe from the hilles of Abruzzo on the northe side, unto the seea on the sowthe.

It is named of Pliny Campania fœlix, bicause of the frutefull feeldes within yt whiche are large and pleasant, and the hilles are abundant with all kinde of delicate frutes, and especiallie that whiche in times past was called Pausilipium, where the precious wines growe. It hath also delectable wooddes within yt, sweete fountaynes and verie helthsom springs, as well for sundrie infirmities of the bodie as for pleasure and disport. And the fertilitie of the countrey is suche that yt dothe not onlie bring

furthe necessarie things for the sustinance of the lyff of man with suche abundance, but also for deliciousnes and for sensuall pleasure in great quantitie.

Dionisius Alicarnasseus agreeing with T. Livius saith plainlie that this is the beawtifullest and pleasantest countrey of the world, sith the aere is not onlie most temperat and delicate, but also the frutefullnes of it is such, that in his time at three severall times of the yere there were frutes gathered; the on was in the springtime, the other in the sommer, and the third in harvest, which he affirmethe to have seene there. Lucius Florus saith that in this fertile countrey the trees spring twise a yere, and that here is to be found all delicaties for the pleasure of man, for that Ceres and Bacchus strive whiche in most perfection shall best abound. Here upon the seea side are noble portes; as Gaeta, Miseno and the temperate fountaynes of Baia, Lucrino and Averno, the pleasure of the seea; the mountaynes and hilles decked with pleasant vines, and emong the rest Gaurus, Falerum, Masicus and Vesuus [Vesuvius] more excellenter than the rest, which striveth with Ætna to cast owt fire. There are also on the seea side Formia, Cuma, Puteolis, Neapolis, Erculanteum, and Pompei. Besides this we may discern Capua (the hade of this countrey) which is reputed the third of the most mightie cities, after Roome and Carthage. This muche saith L. Florius [Florus].

Departing therfor owt of the noble citie of Naples there appearethe before owr eyes this pleasant and sweete countreye, which bringeth furthe suche necessarie matters for the use of man and beast. And there is gathered great abundance of wheate, barlie and other graine, with sundrie sortes of good wines, so abundantlie that a man wold think it a straung thing and almost incredible how it were possible to gather owt of on self feelde so great abundance of corn and wine. For so many vines are upon a verie highe tree and the branches of them so dispersed abowt the boowes of the tree, that som times of on of them they make two hoggesheades of wine, as I was enformed by th'inhabitants of the countrey, and indeed a man may judge no lesse (albeit it appeare a straunge matter at the first) yf he behold it well. And of this doth Plinie make mention in the 14 book 2 chapter: declaring it as a wonderous matter.

On the west side of Naples there is a highe way that two cartes may easilee goo together, cutt owt of the rock by force of

hand, under the hill Posilipo. Yt is well 700 paces in lengthe and more than 12 in breadethe. At the entring into yt on the lefthand, upon the side of the hill within the precinct of the Monasterie called Santa Maria Piedo Grotto, there is a litle olde house where they say Vergil was buried according to these verses.

Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
Parthenope; cecini pascua, rura, duces.

But of his sepulcher there is no certaintie. Servius saithe that he was buried within two miles of Naples, upon the waye as we goo to Puzzol, over against the mouthe of this grotta, wherupon it is to be thowght it was not far from hense. Within this grotta there is two holes cutt owt on the rock a hie, to lett in light whiche notwithstanding is verie dark, and wondrous full of dust: who first made this Grotta is uncertain, for there are dyverse opinions.

From hense in the hie way to Puzzolo [Pozzuoli] there is a lague called Lago di Agnano, upon the which are certain baynes verie helthfull called Sudatorii: they cause good digestion and resolve raw humors, they lighten the bodie and heale the inward partes, they drie upp fistles and woundes in the bodie, and are verie good against the gowte. By these baynes on the lague's side there is a sandie hill, at the bottom of yt, a certain pitt not farr into the hill nor yet verie deepe nor wide, in the whiche pitt there is a mark sett and what thing soever passethe that, yf it have lyff in yt, yt hath not onlie no power at all to sturr from thense, butt yt fomethe at the mowthe and fallethe to the ground ymmediatlie. After it is thus fallen, take yt owt again and wash it in the lague, by and by it reliveth, yf it abide not long in the lague, for then it helpeth not at all. And this have I seene proved both with dogges, catts, froggs and other lyving beastes. Byyond this we cum by certain ruines where as Lucullus was wont to have his abiding place, and there cutt throwghe the rock to lett the seea into the lague of Agnano, for the whiche deede Cicero callethe him Xerxes togatus. By this had Cicero a village called at this day villa di Cicerone. After this we cum to the marvelous hilles of sulphure, upon the whiche are sundrie litle holes that with great force cast owt verie hott smoke and sum flames of brimstone. On the side towards Puzzolo there is an open entrie into a large place

which is plaine and compassed abowt with hilles. At the on side of this plaine there is a poole of boyling sulphure water, owt of the which there arriseth a verie dark and black smoke. Yt boilethe night and day, winter and sommer. The forme of yt appearethe to be round, but it entreth farther under the hill then cann be discerned. Whatsoever is cast in here, is pluckt owt again immediatlie after well sodd, and of necessitie there remaynethe a part of the same behinde still, for the hole cumeth not furthe again. And yt hathe bine proved that when fowre egges hath bine putt in, there have cum owt but three sodd. Of these hilles of brimstoun speaketh Plini in lib. 35 cap. 14 in this wise:

'In Italia invenitur sulfur in Neapolitano Campanoque agro collibus qui vocantur Leucogabi, quod e cuniculis effossum, perficitur igni.'

These hilles burn on everie side and caste furthe into the aere great smoke with a verie rank savor of brimstonn, the savor wherof may be felt (when the winde liethe on that side) as far as Naples. Which savor they recken verie helthsom for suche as have rewmes and have taken cold in their heade. And the boyling sulphure water they saye, is good to mollifie the raynes and jointes, to clarifie the eyes, to heale the greefe of the stomake, to helpe barren women to conceave, to drive away the agues and to heale scabbes. Of these hilles of brimstonn the bisshoppe of Puzzolo hathe great revenues yerelie.

A litle from these hilles we cum to the towne of Puzzulo, situated on the seea side upon a litle hill and almost compassed abowt with the seea. Betwixt this and Baia, whiche is three miles and a sixe hundrethe pases, we may discern xiij foundations in the seea for the arches of a bridge, whiche th'Emperor Gallicula had made to passe the next way unto Baia: there appeare yet sum of the arches, but they are wonderousllie decayed. About this towne are sundrie howses of pleaser, with their delicious gardines and helthsom prospectes: also diverse antiquities and manie great ruines, as an amphitheater, and a place under ground called labirinto, for the multitude of the chambers in yt. By Puzzulo in the way to Baia there is a spring of freshe water which ariseth with such force owt of the ground and so abundantlie, that for all it is within the seea, yet hathe it no tast of the salt water.

Keeping along by the seea side we com to a place called Tripergola, where there is a hill covered with great sharpe stones

which lacketh litle of two miles in height and iiij in compasse. . This hill arrose sodainlie owt of the plaine sandie ground upon St. Michale's daye in the yere of owr lord 1538 with suche a terrible noise and suche violence that it cast stones as far as Naples, not withowt the great terror of manie a man, yea and abundance of asshes caried by the violence of the winde fell at St. Severino, which is 24 miles from Naples: this hill a good space after burnt in the toppe and cast furthe stones, but yt hath ceased burning of late dayes. After this we cum to Baia, whiche beeing in lengthe is likened unto an arm or a finger: in this place are the notablest ruines to be descerned that are in all the rest of Italye. For of a number of faire and plesant cities as were Baiæ, Cuma, Linternum and such other, there is now nothing but desolation and a sorte of olde ruines. Of this place speaketh Horatius:

Nullus in orbe locus Baiis prælucet amœnis.[1]

The notablest things here to be seene are these, Piscina Mirabile, which is thowght was Lucullus' sommerhowse, Cento Camerele which were under the ground to kepe water in, like chambres passing by narowe dores owt of on into an other. And baynes communlie called Bagni de Cicerone, where at a certain time in the daye and likewise in the night there yssuethe owt of the rocke warm water (with a great smoke) according to the increasing or diminishing of the moone. Upon the toppe of these baynes in the rocke, ascending upp by certain stayeres of stone, we find a long hole made artificiallie within the rocke, sixe foote highe and five brode, which is sommwhat croked; within the whiche yf a man stand on foote he shall feele a hott aere abowt his face and ymmediatlie shall begin to sweat, thinking at the first entree his breath shall be taken from him. But yf he then fall upon his knees and encline to the paviment where he stoode, he shall contrarilie feel a verie cold aer. This sweating place in these baynes is said to be verie soveraign for diverse infirmities; yt purgethe the humors, yt comfortithe the heade and the stomak, yt healethe rewmes and catarres, yt breaketh fleame, and yt helpethe muche suche as are diseased of the gowte or the dropsie. There are about this place a two or three and twentie baynes, besides divers other springs of warm water whiche are good for

[1] Epl. I. i. 83.

manie matters. Of the baynes sum are of great vertue for the eyes, som for the hands, som for the feete, som for the sides, som other for the brayne, and manie for the gowte and dropsie. Here is the lague of Averno, and also the lague of Lucrino, which have bine so famous in the olde time. Averno is reported to be 360 fadom deepe, compassed round abowt with hige hilles saving at the entrie into yt, fayned by the poetes to be the way unto hell. Passing this arm or finger of earthe, which is five miles long compassed abowt with the seea on three sides and the fowrthe is five miles brode (whiche is also muche narrower towardes the ende of yt, evermore straiter and straiter and at last is less than a mile), we cum unto the ruines of Cuma, where emong other monstrous matters there is a cave or hole under the earthe called Grotta di Sybilla, which is a wondrous thing to beholde, cutt owt of the verie rocke tenn foote brode and as manie high and five hundrethe long, wrowght within wondrous artificiallie round abowt which appearethe to be mosaicall woorke. There be diverse opinions of yt. . Som say yt was the dwelling place of Sybilla Cumana. And other imagin yt to be the waye under ground from Cuma to Baia, whiche is not likelie there shuld suche great cost and curious worke be bestowed upon a way to go uppe and downe. The entrie into it hathe of late dayes bine stopped upp by the reason that two or three have perished there within. Within the land abowt xij miles from the seea standeth Capua upon the river of Vulturno, which is not the olde Capua so muche spoken of by all writers, but yt is built of the ruines of yt. The olde Capua is abowt two miles from yt, and standethe not upon the river. It is now called Santa Maria Maggiore. There are to be seen great ruines of mightie walles, towres, amphitheaters, gates, pillars, palaces, and vawtes under the grounde whiche is a manifest proff of the magnificense and noblenes yt was of in times past. Round abowt yt is such a pleasant and bewtifull champaign countrey that yt ys not written for nowght how Hannibal prospered alwais and obtayned victorie against the Romanes untill he had overcum Capua and wintred there. For in this space his souldiars gave themselves to such deliciousnes as well in excesse of delicate fare as other sensuall pleasures, that they were no more soldiars for the feelde but rather knights for a ladie's chamber; after the whiche time he had never good successe in none of his affaires. This Capua is abowt xviij miles from Naples. In the midway there is a town

called Aversa, which is said was built by the ruines of the citie Attella by Robert Guiscardi when he beseaged Naples and Capua, and named it so bicause yt shuld be contrarie to them bothe.

On the north side of Naples passing by the pleasant palaice of Poggio Reale, where so manie gardines of pleasant and sundrie frutes are, with sundrie conveyances of water, we cum to a towne called Aecerra, eight miles owt of Naples, wherof Livie makethe mention in manie places, also Virgil in these verses.

Talem dives arat Capua, et vicina Vesevo
Ora iugo, et vacuis Clanius non æquus Acerris.

Eight miles beyond this is a towne called Arienzo or Arzento, standing on the side of the hill Tisata, which is above Capua and stretchethe thither, where we passe throwgh them into a valley called Valle de Gardano; compassed abowt with hilles after the form and maner of an amphitheatrum, which was wont to be named Vallis Caudina. Livius described it in this sort in the beginning of his ix^{h} book: 'After the straite passe betwext two hilles there is a faire plaine feelde whiche a man may beholde compassed about with two verie highe hilles which are verie rockes in deede and great wooddes upon them.' The waye is throwghe the middle of this feelde; and so cummethe to the passag where these two hilles joine on the other side, whiche is a muche narrower waye and a great deal more troblsom then the cumming in was before. At this narrow passage there is latlie built a litle monasterie called Santa Maria del giogo for a memorie of the olde shame that the Romanes receaved there by the Samnites, as Livi makethe mention. Somwhat by yond this monasterie there is a litle walled towne called Arpaia, 4 miles from the above named Arienzo: After that we cum to Monte Sarcio, six miles from thense, whiche is a prettie walled towne, and Livi makethe mention of yt. Then we cum to the river Sabbato, that goethe into Vulturno, which we passe over twise upon two faire bridges, and so we arrive at the citie of Benevento, 34 miles owt of Naples. This is a verie auntient citie. It was first built of Diomedes, and onse yt was named Maleventum. Yt is situated at the verie end of a hill and from the castle whiche is on the toppe of the hill yt is alwais descending into the plaine. Yt standeth in the confines of Terra di Lavoro, Abruzzo and Puglia [Apulia]. Yt is belonging to the chamber of Roome. I was informed for a truthe, beeing there

together with Mr. Edward Stradling, that there were within the towne and in other places abowt yt, which are belonging to the towne, to the number of 18 thowsand menn that were banished owt of Naples and other partes of the kingdom: and here they may live in safguard, for that the Emperor hathe nothing to do with yt. The whiche seamed to me a verie strang thing, being as it is within the hart of the kingdom and the king to have nothing a do with yt, to punish trayters and such evell disposed parsons as move sedition and rebellion against him. There be within the citie manie faire antiquities and emong other there is a round churche called San Stefano with the gate of brasse which is not muche inferior to Santa Maria rotunda in Roome. Yt hathe (like unto that in Room) a hole in the toppe which letteth in all the light that cumethe into the churche. There is also a verie bewtifull triumphall arke of the Emperor Nerva, which for the bewtie of the fine marble and for the good workmanshippe may be compared to anie in Roome: Yt is now on of the gates of the citie communlie called Portaurea. On bothe sides wherof is the inscription verie legible:

Imp. Cæsari divi Nervæ filio
Nervæ Traiano optimo Aug:
Germanico Dacico Pontif. Max. trib.
Potest. XVIIII. Imp. VII. Cos. VI P.P.
Fortissimo Principi Senatus P.Q.R.

The countrey abowt under the citie named Valle de Benevento a verie pleasant and delectable plaine, verie fertile and wondrouslie inhabited, and full of clere and bewtifull springs of freshe water.

Cumming back again from thense there is on the left hand the towne of Nola, a famous citie in times past, within 14 miles of Naples, which hath a goodlie plaine countrey round about yt, closed on the on side with the hill Tisata that cummethe from Capua, and on the other with the hill Vesevus, communlie called Monte di Somma. Betwext Nola and Naples there is standing on the side of Monte di Somma a towne called Somma, according to the name of the hill. This hill is on all sides verie frutefull except it bee in the toppe, whiche is full of great sharpe burnt stones. There growethe upon yt verie parfect Greeke wine whiche is communlie called Greco di Somma, and all kindes of delicate frutes. This hill burnt in Plinie's time, who went abowt to serche owt the cause

of yt and was smodred in the smoke. On the east side of Naples abowt 8 miles owt of the citie is a towne called Turre del Greco at the verie rootes of Monte di Somma by the seea side, so called bicause it was in times past built by a Grecian. And here is the wine Greco shipped to be transported into sundrie places of Italie. Betwext Naples and this towne is a faire palaice called Pietra Bianca, where Don Francesco Deste, the Duke of Ferrarae's brother, was then, abowt the which are sundrie pleasant places. From Turre del Greco unto Turre della Nuntiata [Torre Annunziata] are also 8 miles, which is a pretie litle castle upon the seeaside. From thense to Nucera [Nocera] is other 8 mile. This is a ruinous towne and is rather like a sort of villages together in a vale betwext hilles, then a towne: yet is there bothe a duke of yt and a bisshoppe belonging to yt whose name was Paulus Jovius,[1] which diede aftereward in the yere of our Lord 1553, a famous writer.

Departing from hense we passed throwghe the vale and cam by Cava and Vietro, and so over the rocks to Salerno, which is 9 mile from Nucera. Yt standeth upon a hille's side by the seea verie pleasantlie, gardines & prospectes abowt it in great quantitie bringinge furthe all kindes of frutes in grete abundance, as oranges, lemones, poungarnettes, citrons, melones, figgs, and such other of all sorts: also diverse kindes of wines verie delicate and precious.

Here was wont to be a famous schoole, but of late dayes it hathe bine removed to Naples, not withowt the great displeaser of the prince, called Fernando di Sanscurrino, whiche delited muche to entertaine all kind of strangers. Above the towne there is a faire castle upon the rock where the prince liethe, which hathe manie goodlie prospectes and helthsom aeres abowt it, as well towards the seea as the hilles abowt, upon the whiche groweth almost nothing but rosemarie.

My Journey into Sicilia.

After I had well vewed whatsoever was to bee seene bothe within the citie of Naples and in the countrey abowt the same, I tooke a journey upon me to goo throwghe the dukedom of Calabria by land into Cicilia, both to have a sight of the countrey and also to absent my self for a while owt of Englishemenne's companie

[1] Paulus Jovius, born at Como, 1483. A famous Italian historian; author of *Historia sui Temporis*.

for the tung's sake. And the xi[th] of Februarie I departed owt of Naples on this jorney as followethe:

) 1 From Naples to Nucera . . . . xxij[ml]
θ From Nucera to Salerno . . . . ix[ml]
) From Salerno to Mollere . . . . vi[ml]
∋ From thense to Eboli . . . . xviij[ml]
Δ 2 „ „ „ the Scafa . . . . iiij[ml]

The name of this river is Silare, but it is communlie called la Scafa. Hitherto stretchethe the uttermost bondes of Terra di lavoro.

) From thense to Cicignana [Sicignano] . . xiiij[ml]
) „ „ „ Auletta . . . . vj[ml]

This towne belongethe to the Erle of Congia.

) From thense to Pola . . . . . iij[ml]

Here beginnethe the pleasant vale called valle di Diano, which taketh his name of a castle therbye called Diano. At the entring into this vale on the right hand there is a cave or denn within the rock whiche is abowt 30 feet in height and 50 wide; this cave is full of running cleere water, and in the middle of the water there is an altar which they call Altare di San Michael, and the water is so abundant abowt it, that it appearethe to be a litle lague. Of this great abundance of water hathe a river his beginning called Negro, which makethe a great rumerous noise untill he cumethe into the middes of the vale. This vale is xx miles in lengthe and iiij in breadthe. The hilles abowt it are so inhabited as it is wonder to behold. Yt bringethe furthe marvelous plentie of corn and all kindes of frutes.

) From Pola to Ateno . . . . . iiij[ml]
) 3 From thense to Sala . . . . . iiij[ml]
∋ From thens to Padula. . . . . iiij[ml]

To this town of Padula stretchethe the principalitie of Salerno. This is a faire towne situated at the rootes of the hill. It belongethe to Don Francesco Deste, the Duke of Ferrarae's brother who maried the Ladie Mary Cardona that was wiff unto Anthony Cardona Marques of Padula, who died in the yere 1513. And now th'Emperor for his good service hathe confirmed yt unto Don Francesco. Withowt this towne of Padula there is hard by the

walle's side a monasterie of charter friers called San Lorenzo di Padula, which is walled abowt and seemethe as bigg as the towne of Padula, which hathe within yt pleasant gardines and faire rowmes, with princelie conveiance of things all abowt yt. . This monasterie may dispend in revenues three pounds of gold a day, which ammountethe to fourescore and fowretine crownes the pound, and in English money it is above thirtie poundes. On pound of gold they receave a day to the proper use of themselves, all costs and charges besides born and discharged. They are in number as manie friers as there are dayes in the yere, that is to say three hundrethe three score and fowre. They have in the monasterie officers' servannts attending upon them and dailie laborars two hundrethe.

Here we cost[1] from the vale uppe the hill after we cum to Montesano, which standeth at the rootes of the hill.

) From Padula to Casal Nuovo . . . . xij^{ml}

This towne is on the side of the hill and belongethe to the said monasterie of San Lorenzo.

After we have goone a mile from hense we enter into a great thicke woode called Bosco del Pellegrino, whiche is verie jeopardous to passe. For there do the banisshed men of the kingdom lie manie times for their praye, and many a man is there robbed and slaine in the yere by them.

) From Casal Nuovo to Lago Negro . . . viij^{ml}
) From thense to Luria [Lauria] . . . viij^{ml}

Here be sharpe mountaynes to passe and wonderous to beholde on all sides with infinit springs of water. . This towne, th'inhabitants saye, belongethe to the prince of Salerno. And after we are cum a vi or vii miles from yt, we enter into an other woode not all thing so jepardous as the first, called Bosco di Castelluccio or as som say, Silva de Lusillo.

℈ 4 From Luria to Castelluccio . . . . viij^{ml}

This towne belongeth to the Baron della Crone. After we are past this towne we cum to a river called Lauso [Lao], whereupon standethe a litle towne named Laino, throwghe the which this

[1] Murray gives, to coast = to pass by, along, round; the word is used again by Hoby.

river runnethe: wheras the Dukedom of Calabria beginnithe which dothe alwais appertain unto the King of Naples' eldest sonn. After we passe this we enter into verie sharp and stonie hilles.

) From Castelluccio to Rotonda . . . xiiij^{ml}

This is a pretie towne well compact abowt a round hill, and bicause the howses are on all sides joyning together and stand bound on by an other, therfor (I think) it is so named. After we have goone a good while from hense we cum at lengthe to descende from the hilles throwghe a strait, sharpe, roode and stonie waye, which a man wolde judge to have been cutt owt of the rock by force of hand, for it is on both sides as yf a man shulde enter into a gate. When we are doone these hilles we cum into a faire plaine, and on the right hand there is upon the hille's side the towne of Murano.

∋ From Rotonda to Murano . . . . xij^{ml}

Rotondo and Morano bothe do belong unto the prince of Bisignano.

θ 5 From Morano to Castro Villare . . . iiij^{ml}

Th'Emperor made duk of this town, Giovan Battista Cariati, Count of Cariati and surrnamed Spinello, who had Don Pietro de Toledo in great indignation which was vicere of Naples, for keaping his syster as his concubine, making him beleave he wold marye herr.

This towne is situated at the end of the aforesaid plaine, and at the departing owt of it we descend a wondrous way downwards from the hill. By the way upon the right hand we may see Altomonte on the hill, within a mile wherof are the wonderous mines of salt. And a litle by yonde them are marvellous hige hilles upon the which is continuallie great abundance of snowe, which by the heate of the sonn dothe congele and becommethe cristall, wherof there is great abundance upon those hilles.

In the vale that is over against Altomonte is manna[1] gathered in the sommer time which fallethe from the aere in the night: and so much more abundantlie yf after a great raign the daye

[1] Manna. The Encyclopædias tell us that manna is now obtained in Sicily and South Italy by making incisions in the bark of a tree known as the flowering or manna ash.

before there folow a cleere night. This manna is gathered upon trees that have leaves like unto a plumme tree. There is two sortes of yt, the on fallethe upon the leaves (which is the prefectest) and the other upon the bodie and bowes of the tree. And of this they mak great merchandise.

Δ From Castro villare to thentrie into the vale of Grati, whiche is so named by the river . xxij^{ml}

This vale is verie long but somwhat narrowe. In the middle of yt runneth the river Grati, whiche is augmented on everie side with other litle riverse that cum into yt, as the rivers Finito, Settimo, Sordo, Busento, and Saunto, which is the river that in times past hathe bene so famous, called Acheron. The vale is a goodlie plaine peice of grownde, with hilles on bothe sides which are wonderous frutefull and marvelouslie inha[bi]ted with townes and villages.

θ 6 From thentrie into the vale to Cosenza . xxij^{ml}

Following a long the vale we arrive at lengthe at the end of yt, where we enter into part of the towne Consenza called il Borgo, and so passe the bridg over the river Grati to cum into the citie, which dothe appeare to be but a strete in lengthe. This citie is the head of all Calabria, called in times past Consentia by old writers. The greatest part of yt standethe upon the side of the hill Appennine which cummethe throwghe the middle of Italye, built upon seven litle hilles. And for this the armes of the towne are vij hilles. Upon the toppe of the hill on hige towardes the sowthe there is a strong castle, unto the which the towne and the places abowt is subject. The countrey abowt is verie frutefull and hath abundance of corn, frutes and good wines. In the highe churche called the Archbisshopricke there is a coffin by the walle's side with the armes of Fraunce upon yt, where (they of the towne saye) liethe the body of Charles the Great, sometime king of Fraunce. Upon the toppe of the hill by the castle there are sundrie olde ruines in great quantitie of auntient buildings. In the Borgo on this side the river there is a greate churche of S^{t} Dominik wherein is this epitaff upon a tumbe.

Hoc sita sunt Petri Rodorici membra sepulcro
Ultima preclarum quem tulit Esperia.

Prætor erat Calabris vita, set febribus ante
Heu quam Præturæ munera functus obijt.
Quo pietate prior nemo et ferventior æqui;
Famam orbs, ossa solum, spiritus astra colit.

Livi makethe oft mention of this towne, and in on place he saithe how the people called Brutii were yelded to Hannibal, and C. Servilius Consul made a peace with Consentia and the other people.

The river Grati, called in old time Cratis, hathe his beginning abowt a six miles above Cosenza on the est side owt of a plentifull fountain of water. When it cummith to the towne yt is faire and larg, and there entrethe into him before he cummethe under the bridge the river called Busento; which two waters, as th'inabitants report, have two sundrie vertues. For thone, that is to say Grati, yf a man washe his heade or silk in the water of yt, the heare and the silk becum an aubern or flexie colowr. And the water of Busento on the other side makethe yt to becum sumwhat black and of a dark colowr: according to these verses of Ovid in the 15 booke of Metamorph:

Cratis et huic Sybaris nostris conterminus oris,
Electro similes faciunt, auroque capillos.

And the water of Grati is counted verie helthsom for manie infirmities. It is not verie cleere by the reason that it cummeth with such a force downe from the mountaynes of a great height.

ϑ 7 From Cosenza to L'Aielo [Ajello] . . xvj^{ml}

After we passe Cosenza we ascende uppe upon verie highe hilles and emong them we travell so long till at last we arrive at Aielo, which standethe upon a hill and hathe a verie straite, sharp and stonie way unto yt. Above the towne is a fair large castle where the count liethe that is owner of the towne, and yt is almost as hige above the towne as the towne is from the valleye where we ascende situated upon a verie rock. Owt of this castle there is a faire prospect over all the hilles and plaines abowt. From L'Aielo towards San Biasi we cum upon a highe hill nighe unto the place called Golfo di San Eufemia, where the countrey is but xx miles in breadethe and a man may discern upon that hill the seeas that are on both sides of Italie, that is to saye to Golfo di San Eufemia, and the golf on the other side called Golfo di Squilacci. In this countrey they burn no candles and litle oyle, but their light is a

kind of wood whiche burnethe like a torche, beeing kept drie. The wines here are to extreme colde to be dronk of suche as are not accustomed to them. Before we cum to St. Biasi wee ride throwghe a woode verie thick and jeopardous to passe called Bosco di Santo Mazzio, whiche hathe bine most famous for robberies and murtheres committed in yt, of all the rest within the realm. For the theves did not onlie robb in great companies within yt, but also yf they sawe a number ride so stronglie together that they thowght not themselves able to mak their part in good, they had emong the trees certain peices of artillarie to discharg at them, whiche were the deathe of manie a man. But now all the wood that was anie thing nige unto the high waye is burnt downe, and the trees remaine full of coles, withowt eyther leaf or bowe abow them, and some lying upon the earthe half burnt. This was done by th'Emperor's commandment when he passed bye there. At owr cuming owt of this wood we may descern a faire plaine and a bewtiful countrey, full of plesant places abundant with sundrie kindes of frutes. And on the left hand we may see the towne of Nicastro with the countrey abowt yt well tilled and verie plentifull, which is a great delite to beholde.

♑ From Aielo to San Biasi . . . . xx^{ml}

This towne belongethe to the Count of Nicastro.

♎ 8 From thense to a river called Scala . . xvj^{ml}

θ From thense to Montelion Duke[1] . . . viij^{ml}

This hath been an auntient towne in times past, as it dothe appeare by certain great ruines there and old statures.

♑ 9 From thense to Seminara . . . . xxx^{ml}

This is a pretie towne well inhabited and a plentifull countrey round abowt yt, of corn, fruts, wine, and in especiallie olives great abundance. Yt belongethe to the Count. When we bee past Seminara we ascend uppe the Appennine upon the which we may beholde the plentifull and frutefull countrey abowt yt, all tilled full of vines and frute trees. Travailing thus upon the Apennine we may descern Vulcano, Strongoli [Stromboli] and the yles there abowt within the see, and also Mongibello laden with snowe within Sicilia.

) From Seminara to Fiumara del Moro . . . x^{ml}

[1] The word 'Duke' has been added later, and probably is the name of an inn.

Before we arive here we descend somwhat from the Apennine a verie steepe and narrowe waye. This litle towne is situated upon a rock with water round abowt yt, belonging to a barron that takethe his name of it. After we arrive at Fiumare del Moro we yet descend more into a valley, whereas is great abundance of the trees called mori, with the which silkewormes are fedd; and by them paradventure the towne taketh his name. In this valley full of frutfull trees on all sides, we ride bye abundance of vines, arange trees, and limones. Here we leave the Appennine which keapethe more within the land and goeth to Reggio. Upon the side of him cumming downe we may easlie see into Sicilia and plainlie descern the straigt that is betwext it and Italie. In this valley we folowe the litle river that cummethe from Fiumare del Moro untill he enter into the seea.

Δ From Fiumare del Moro to Catona . . . iiij^{ml}

Here standethe hard upon the seea an olde decayed towre by the which is a verie beggerlie house made for an ynn called Catona, to receave such as take passage from thense to Messina, and when there want passingers, to lodge the bardge menn that are continuallie there with their vessells readie to transport passengers unto the other side, which is but sixe miles over. This passage is much used of the people of the countrey to and fro. From hense to Reggio, which is counted the verie end of Italie, are vij miles, gooing still in the plaine valley betwext the Appennine and the seea. This towne hathe often bine vexed, spoiled, and destroied. And not long sith yt hathe receaved great damage by Barbarossa:[1] yt is abundant with faire litle rivers and clere springs, and besett in everie place with pleasant gardines replenisshed with all kinds of frutes, and in especiallie aranges, which are so plentifull there and of suche a biggnes that they are most desired in Sicilia above all other for a great delicasie.

♁ 10 From Reggio to Messina . . . . xij^{ml}

There is in this towne on of the fairest portes in Europe, standing as well for the Levant and all those quarters as for the Ponent. The towne standethe sumwhat upon the side of a hill, betwext the hill and the port. Upon the hill there are two or three faire castles, kept by Spaniardes. Yt is more in lengthe then in

[1] Barbarossa. Khair-ed-Dîn Barbarossa, the famous pirate, conqueror of Tunis and admiral of the Turkish fleet in 1533, died 1546.

breadethe. The cheffest thing for antiquitie I sawe there, were the heades of Scipio and Hannibal when they were yong menn, in stone. The verie same (they of the citie say) that in times past were sent unto the communeweale of Messina by the senate and people of Roome in token of the good will towardes the towne, for the fidelitie and great good will they alwais bore to the Romanes; presenting them with the heade of him that had done so muche goode to Roome, and also of him who was the cruellest enemie that ever Roome had. These remaine straightlie kept in the towne house of Messina, and not to bee seene, withowt yt be for friendshippe, to straungers. For a new worke and that not finisshed at my being there, I saw a fountaine of verie white marble graven with the storie of Acteon and such other, by on Giovan Angelo,[1] a florentine, which to my eyes is on of the fairest peece of worke that ever I sawe. This fountain was appointed to be sett uppe before the hige churche where there is an old on alreadie. Here is an old palaice belonging unto the Kings of Sicilia, and now most part of it is built a new from the groound: upon the front of the palaice is this inscription:

Regia sum regum studijs fundata piorum,
Æquoreum lustrando sinum lithusque decorum.
Exhibuit formam quam vides nunc Fridericus
Rex pius eximius summæ virtutis amicus.
An° M° viceno cumque ccc et nono Dñi.

After two dayes abode in Messina and [having] vewed what was to bee seene there, I departed from thense towardes Siracuse.

Δ From Messina to Ali by the sea side . . xv^{ml}
)1 From thense to Tauromina[Taormina] . . xv^{ml}

Cicero makethe oft mention of this towne in his orations against Verres. Yt standethe upon a hill not farr from the seea, and abowt yt are verie auntient ruines. By yonde this towne as we go to Catania are growing a great number of canes of suger called cannemele. Yt is a plaine countrey full of marisshes untill we cum upon the rootes of Mongibello, called in the old time Ætna: which we do long before we cum to Catania.

Ə 2 From Tauromino to Catania . . . xxx^{ml}

[1] Giovanni Agnolo Montorsoli, died 1563. A description of his work at Messina is given in Vasari's *Lives*.

This towne is placed upon the seea side at the rootes of Mongibello Yt standethe most by fisshermenn, that travaill the seea day and night. It hath bine a famous citie in times past, but now there is litle to be seene abowt it, except the ruines of an old aqueduct which browght water above ground from a farr of. And, saving of late yeres, there could no water be found abowt the towne, which hath bine the decay of this aqueduct. The towne of Catania is built with ruggie heavie stone full of litle holes, which th'inhabitants saye have in times past bine cast owt of Mongibello. True it is indeed that such kinde of stone lie in great quantitie abowt the hill, which to look upon a man wold judge no lesse but they cam owt of fire: and before we cum to the rootes of this hill we find none of them abowt the countreye, but there is suche abundance that they wearie both mann and beast to travaill upon.

This hill Ætna or (as it is now named) Mongibello [was] verie famous emong the writers of old time; th'inhabitants of the towne of Catania call yt by no other name but their hill, yet is yt from thense to the verie toppe litle lack of xxx miles, as they tolde me, alwais ascending, yeven from the towne, thowghe not much at the first. It is a verie uneasie waye by the reason of the great quantitie of great and sharpe stones that are upon yt. The hill is round, bigg, and nige none other, the toppe is alwais laded with snowe, and speciallie in the winter time, for then (they saye) within sixe mile of the toppe yt is covered for the space of sixe monthes: and except a mann waite a time in the month ot Julie or August, yt is not possible to go to the toppe. The verie toppe is flatt and compasseth a great matter more then it appearethe a far of, whereas in the on part yssuethe owt smoke at a wide hole manie times to be descerned when there blowethe a sowthe east winde, abowt the evening like unto a litle cloud. The other part is alwais covered with abundance of snowe, which in the sommer time meltethe awaye and there makethe a great lague where beastes wandring abowt the hill refreshe themselves. But it is never withowt great quantitie of snowe neyther winter nor sommer.

Mine intent was beeing here in Catania to have made a journey to the toppe of the hill, but th'inhabitants persuaded me to the contrairie, saing that the snowe was so thick, the way so troublesom, and the cold so extreme, that I shuld not be able to

bring my purpose to passe. (And again which was worst of all) there was no lodging to be had: and to goo and com back again but from the hither most part of the snowe which liethe upon the hill, they said it was not possible in a daye. Th'inhabitants of the towne saye that in times past the hill was accustomed everie three score or foure score yeres at the farthest, to cast owt great streames of fire like unto a river, which cam from the toppe of the hill unto the verie walles of the towne and manie times put the towne in great perill, burning all that part of it that was next unto yt. I demaunded the question of them whie it raged not so still keaping his accustomed due time; and this fonde answere was made me. 'Bicause (say they) we have now a protectrice and defender from yt, called Santa Agatha, to whom the great churche of the towne is dedicated, and when soever anie likelihoode is of this kind of rage, herr holie bodie (which is here reserved within the churche) is ymmediatlie browght furthe in procession, and incontinentlie yt asswageth, or at the least it refrayneth, thowghe not altogether from flaming, yet from annoying the towne in suche sort as it was accustomed in time to fore.' And this they say hath bine onse done in the memorie of man. But th'onlie occation whie it neyther ragethe, burnethe, flamethe nor smokethe at this present as it hathe done in thold time, is, that matter within wantethe, which in these manie hundrethe yeres hathe done nothing but consume: and therfor at this present it neyther flamethe nor yet castethe owt such quantitie of stones enie more. But smoke it dothe a litle now and then, which a man shall see arise from the toppe like a litle white cloude. This hill may be seene well an hundrethe miles by land and two hundrethe by seea. It raignethe seldom eyther winter or sommer but it fillethe the toppe of it with snowe, as I have wondred myself lying upon the seea, to see with a litle mistie raign in the evening, what abundance of snowe was augmented upon the hill by the morning.

From Catania to the passage of a river [Simeto]. viij^{ml}

This is on of the fairest rivers in all Sicilia, called by none other name vulgarlie but fiume de Catania. It is large, deepe and of a somwhat sweeft stream. His beginning is partlie owt of Mongibello, but principallie owt of the hilles by yonde that.

) 3 From thense to Lintini . . . . . x^{ml}
θ 4 „ „ „ Siracusa . . . xxiiij^{ml}

This is the towne so famous in all writers both greeke and latin, which hath bine esteamed on of the principallest cities of all Greece. This it was, that Dionisius the tirant was king of, and wherein he played so manie tiranicall partes. The name of it doth still remaine, but the bewtee and majestie of it is cleane decayed. No part of it is now inhabited but onlie that which was wont to be the least part of the citie, called the iland. And indeed it is an yland, saving that at the entrie where the gate is, there is a litle peace of grownd of a xl foot broode. After our entrie at the gate, we cum into a large greene, and by yonde that is the towne, situated upon a rocke, built thick together. Over against this rocke on the other side, which a man wold not judge passing xx score, is the maine land of Sicilia; and in at that straite cumethe the seea whiche makethe a verie large and bewtifull haven within the land of a great compasse. At this narrow passage of the seea into the haven is a strong castle kept by the Spaniardes, within the which is a lanttern to bee seene a farr of. The auntientest thing within the towne is the highe church built upon olde great pillars. Undernethe the rocke there issuethe owt suche abundance of water and so sweeftlie that it is straunge to behold: and it cumethe not xl foote from the rocke but it entrethe into the haven. This springe or litle river that I may call it findeth all the towne with water, and thither they bring asses with great earthen pottes upon their backs to fetch it home to their howses. It issueth from under the rocke as thowgh it had some trouble by the way, as the water hath that cummeth from an hige mountain emong great stones. The colour of it is like unto water when it is sodd. In drinking it hathe a tast above other waters somwhitt like unto whay. Of the origion of it there have bine sundrie opinions. For sum have ghessed that it cummeth from Arcadia, where it entrethe into the earthe and goethe under the seea and so ariseth again in this place, according to Ovid, lib. v. Metamorph: [line 573]

Quæ tibi causa fugæ? Cur sis Arethusa sacer fons?

and again in the same place: [line 640]

Delia rupit humum: cæcisque ego mersa cavernis
Advehor Ortigiam:

The Siracusani that inhabited the citie were also called Arethu-

sides by the name of this fountain, as Ovid makethe mention 4 Fast.[1] Utque Siracusas Arethusidas abstulit armis Claudius. Sum other say it cummethe owt of the yland of Sicilia: which in my opinion is unliklie, bicause the towne or the yland of Siracusa is invironed on the land side with drie rocks and betwext those rocks and the towne there is a plaine where we enter into the towne. And again it is to great abundance of water, and issuethe owt to swiftlie, to have his beginning in the litle rocke upon the whiche the towne standethe invironed with salt water. Not farr from this fountain there are certain springes within the seea which arrise owt of the bottom and discover on the toppe withowt anie tast at all of the salt water.

Withowt the towne there are sundrie ruines abowt the port, which compasseth above xii miles, where the cheef of the citie was wont to bee, which was divided into seven townes. The principall matters to be seene there, is the fore front of a church dedicated to Jupiter, which standethe upon a litle round hill and was in the middle of the citie. A theater cutt by force of hand owt of the verie rocke adjoyning to the citie, in the toppe wherof yssuethe owt at a hole owt of the rocke a faire spring of freshe water. There is also a hole or cave in the rocke like a vawte a xxx foote brode, which th'inhabitants say hathe no end; for diverse have gone so farr that for lacke of aere their torches have gone owt, and for want of light and aere wold go no farther. This cave is a straunge thinge to beholde, being by art cutt into the hard stone. Here are the ruines of Dionisius' palaice to be seene, and also of the Latomiæ that he made to punish trespasers.

In on part of the hill there is a great deepe pitt and brode, where I beleve they had their stone in thold time to build the citie. When I had taried three dayes in Siracusa attending for passage to Malta, there arrived sodainlie in a night the galies of Malta, upon the whiche I met with an Englishman called Richard Lucas a gonner upon on of them, who persuaded me to goo back again to Messina with them by seea, saing I shuld find nothing at Malta worth the sight, withowt it were the knigts there, wherof they had store upon their galies. These galies went to Messina to be rigged, dressed and vittayled to accompanie Andrea Doria[2]

[1] *Fast.* iv. 873.

[2] Andrea Doria (1468–1560). Genoese naval commander of great renown. See p. 57, *infra*.

on his journey to wynn again the towne of Aphrica [Tunis] upon the seea in Barbary, which Dragout Rais[1] the famous rover upon those seeas, had a litle before taken by force and fortified: the whiche he browght to passe with great honor in the moneth of September.

We departed owt of Siracusa the second day of Marche and were driven by force of wether to drawe to the port of Augusta, which is xxiiij miles from Siracusa. In this port we laye ij dayes, for the wind was against us. Afterward we sett forwardes and sailed to Messina fourscore miles from thense.

By the arm of land that compassethe in the port of Messina is the perilous place of Charibdis, much spoken of in times past, which by the beating of the see against the said land is a great surgess, over the which we cam with oure galie, which was beginning to turn abowt: but the slaves putt to great labor, so that at last we passed it, withowt daunger, and arrived in the port of Messina, where after iiij dayes abodd I sett forwardes in a shippe towardes Naples. And as we passed owt of the faro of Masseno where the lantern is, which is a two miles and half brode betwext Calabria and Sicilia, we cam by the other jeopardous place called in times past Scylla, which is nothing elles but a great rocke that leaneth owt into the seea on the side of Calabria, against the which the salt water, driven by the violence of the windes, reboundeth backe again with great force, not withowt the hasard oftentimes of manie vessells. This rocke is holowe undernethe and makethe such a terrible noise (the water beating in and driven owt again) that it hath caused the poetes to faine in this sort—Ovid.[2]

Altera Scylla monstrum medicamine Circes
Pube premit rapidos inguinibusque canes.

And Virgil making Elenas to speake to Ænæas admonishing him of the perill that was here, and faining the shape of Scylla (which is a bare rocke withowt anything upon yt) saith in this sort—Æneid, lib. 3: [line 426]

Prima hominis facies, et pulchro pectore virgo
Pube tenus; postrema immani corpore pistrix,
Delphini caudas, utero commissa luporum.

[1] Dragout Rais. The Turkish pirate; once taken prisoner by Andrea Doria, but ransomed by Barbarossa. Killed at siege of Malta, 1565.

[2] The pentameter, with 'rabidos' for 'rapidos,' occurs Ovid, *Am.* iii. 12, 23; but the hexameter does not resemble the line given here, which is faulty.

When we were past the faro of Messina and sailed all that daye and the night folowing, there arrose a litle after midnight suche a contrarie winde that we were driven from the yland of Strongoli [Stromboli] back again, and recovered the port of Melazzo, abowt xxx miles from Messina by Seea. In this port before the towne of Melazzo we taried for better winde xiiij dayes, withowt cumming to land at all in all these dayes. Bicause the maner is here and likewise in all other ports towardes the levant, that no man shall be suffred to take land withowt the master of the shipp bring a certificat from whense he cummeth, the which we did not, thinking full litle that we shuld be driven upon that coast again, after we were onse departed. Neither had our master anie certificat from Barletta, wher he laded corn for Naples, and therfor neythur he nor anie of his companie cold not be permitted to cum a land, neyther at Messina nor here. When we wold have anie victualles or anie thing elles we had neede of, there were certain of the shipp appointed to go to the verie edge of the shore, and there to call to on that is appointed there for that onlie purpose, who causeth it to bee browght thither ymmediatlie, and after the bargain is made, the victualles are laide downe upon some stone, and the bringer goethe from yt: thin goethe on of the shippe to receave yt and laethe downe so much monie for yt, as ther covenant was betwext them, and so convayethe it to the shippe.

The occation of this is bicause the plague rayneth so muche in the parties of levant, that they are loth to practise with anie that cummeth from thense. But if anie man cam from the Ponent they make not the matter so straigt.

This towne of Melazzo seemethe to bee strong for that it hath bine newlie fortified all abowt. Yt standethe upon a hill above the seea. I have bine informed that at suche time as Principe Doria was wont everie sommer to sette furthe his armye bye seea, to find owt the great Cowrsar Dragouth Rais, he hathe bine seen to entre into this port and the rovar Dragouth to cum furthe of it at the verie same time, withowt anie stroke geven. When I demanded the question what was th'occation therof, they answered me that on rover wold not take another. But the Prince spent everie yere the'mperor's monie to entertaine good fellowes that lacked wages, and not to come to anie handstroke.

Here abowt upon certain rocks within the seea groethe plentie

of course corall bothe redd & whitte. When the wether was faire and had winde at will, we departed from Melazzo and coosted the ylandes abowt Sicilia, and cam by Lipari, whiche is a plentifull peece of ground and a prettie towne standing a hige upon a hill. There is a place within this yland that a fewe yeres sith did burn: and the fond opinion of menn is that bicause it was very noisom to the countrey, the maydens upon a time vowed to drinke nothing but water, wherupon it ceased, and burnt no more never sins. Also Vulcano which castethe owt with great abundance thicke and darke smoke whiche hathe a verie evell savor.

Besides these, Salina which compasseth litle more than a mile and a half, and bringeth furthe fruts of sundrie sortes, which amount to viii hundreth ducats a yere, as I was enfowrmed. After this we cum by Panaria and Strongoli [Stromboli], which is a litle hill and sharp in the toppe, where as with a sowtheast winde, arrisethe a wondrous great flame everie half quarter of an howre, with such flasshes of fire that cumming by it at midnight being verie darke, we might in the shippe decern on another as well as by day light. Abowt this yland is almost nothing to bee seene but all asshes, emong the whiche are pumishe stones which are so light that they flee upp with the flame and so fall in the asshes. Yf they be taken before they towche the salt water they are verie good and perfect: there is greate abundance of them that falling into the seea are caried upon the coast of Calabria, and manie times left upon the drie land. We cam towardes Naples betwext the yland of Crapi [Capri] and Capo di Minerva, that is on the other side of Baia, which two points of earthe make the golf that cummethe in to Naples. Betwext Naples and Sicilia it is reckoned as much by seea as by land, that is three hundrethe miles.

We cam to Naples the xxvj^{b} of Marche, within xvij dayes after owr setting owt from Messina. In the shippe I cam in there was an Englisheman a gunner there, called Jhon Orpinn, who was maried in Naples.

After mine arrivall in Naples I found there newlie com thither Mr. Edward Stradling, Frauncs Williams, Jhon Handfoot, and Thomas Grinwaye. Mr. Parkar and Mr. Barker were departed, whom I found not afterward untill I cam to Siena again. Being thus in Naples we made a journey together to Salerno, which they were desirous to see, and we departed in a bote to Castel Mare,

which is xviij miles. This towne standethe at the rootes of the hill that goethe owt into the seea to make the promonterie of Minerva. Here is great abundance of faire springes of water, and the countrey verie plesant, and plentious of good frutes. From hense we passe to Nucera, which is viij miles, and from thense to Salerno as manie. When we had seen Salerno sufficientlie we entred into a bote to go a long the faire coost of Amalfi, which is praysed to be on of the pleasantest peices of ground in all Italie. This coost is xx miles in lengthe, which is all of sharpe and hige hilles, on the side wherof such plentie of townes, villages, and howses of pleasure are planted so thicke together, that a man wold judge them, passing along by them on the seea, to be all together but on citie. These plesant places are marvelouslie inhabited, where a mann shall see all kindes of frutes in great perfection, as arange, limones, citrons, cedar trees, olives, plummes, poungarnetts, cheries, and such other, which shuld be long to repete. Besides these, vines of great estimation and such abundance of savorous flowres that it is no less pleasure to behold them then to smell to them. The aere is verie temperat, and is open on the seea almost on everie side. On the toppe of the hill there is a towne called Rovello, which appearethe afarr of to be verie faire. Benethe that on the hilles side is Maggiore, of a bewtifull building, and Minore, two faire townes. The seeas went so hige and the winde was so contrarie that we were driven of force to land at Minore, which is x miles from Salerno. Here is wonderous plentie of parfect good vine greco which I marvailed much to see sold so good chepp: for a caraffa which is abowt a quart Englishe was sold for viij cavallucci, which is scarse iij farthings. From hense we went a verie narowe and straite waye upon the side of the hill to Amalfi, two miles of, which is a pretie citie plesantlie built and faire to beholde with the castle above it belonging to the duke, and all the coost abowt it. Here was a garison of Spaniardes, which issued owt abrode manie times to take suche banisshed menn (called forusciti) as lijing upon the hilles did great damage to the inhabitants of the countrey. At owr arrivall understanding the Marques of Capistrano, the duk's sonn, to bee in the castle with his mother the Dutchesse (for the olde acquaintance, frendshipp and familiaritie I had with him in Siena), I thowght it belonging to thoffice of humanitie to do my dutie to him, at whose hands in time before I had receaved so great

curtesie. When he sawe me and Whitehorn cumming into the castle to him he did not onlie gentlie receave us with loving entertainment, but also browght us in to the Dutchesse his mother to do the like towardes us. And while we were sitting in communication together, he had privilie willed on of his menn to bring uppe into the castle to him the rest of owr companie remaining benethe in the towne, where we supped all together, everie mann served his mess severallie at the table to himself in sylver verie honorablie. And there had he with him at supper the Captain of the towne the better to entertain us all. When suppar was done everie mann was browght to his rest: Whitehorn and I were had into a chamber hanged with clothe of gold and vellett, wherin were two beddes, th'on of silver worke and the other of vellett, with pillowes bolsters and the shetes curiouslie wrowght with neelde [needle] worke. . In another chamber hard bie lay Stradlinge and Grinwaye. And bicause there was not provision sufficient within the castle, Handfort and Frauns Williams were ledd to the Captain's howse of the towne, where they laye sumptiouslie, and were greatlie feasted. In the morning we wold needes depart contrarie to the Marquesse will: who understanding by us owr entent was, (the better to see the countrey) to go over the great hill, had privilie appointed a dosen of souldiers Spaniards to attend upon us, and to conduct us throwgh the jeopardous places there abowt, where those kinde of banisshed menn were most likelie to bee. When they cam sodainlie to us at our departure declaring unto us the Marques's will, we refused that their gentle offre occationed by him. Not withstanding, when we were departed (seeing them return backe again) he gave straite commaundment to two or three to folowe us in all hast with their peeces charged, and not to leave us till we cam to the toppe of the hill, and there to see us provided of things necessarie. This was a darke, mistie and rainie morning.

In Amalfi in the great Churche called San Andrea there are the bones of Saint Androwe, by the which is a vessell which (they say) is alwais full, and distilleth owt of those bones a certain oyl, called by th'inhabitants manna (as they say), which is given to pillgrommes and straungers by a preest appointed therto, and yet the vessell is alwais full nobodie adding anie thing to it.

To passe to the toppe of this hill of Amalfi it is a steepe, hard, stonie, narrowe, werisom and troblesom waye, for we ascend

alwais upon degrees and stayers of stone sett there by the menn of the countrey to passe to and fro.

When we cam to the toppe of the hill there we found readie provision made for us against owr cumming, bothe fruts of all sorts to present us, and also horses to ride onwardes upon owr journey. Which horses we refused, saing that we could better go downe a foote then cum upp.

From Amalfi to the toppe of the hill it is reckened viij miles, and hitherto did the Spaniards conduct us.

At the bottom of the hill we passed over the river Sarno, communlie called Scafaro, which passage belongethe to the Duke of Amalfi, and so cam to Torre della Nunciata, which is from the toppe of the hill viij miles, where we laye that night. The next daye we arrived in Naples again xvj miles.

Beeing at Amalfi the Marquess understanding we had not as yet seene the yland of Ischia, willed us in anie wise not to depart owt of the countrey untill we had seene yt: for he assured us it was on of the strongest places and worthiest to bee seene of all christendom: and overnight cawsed a letter to bee written unto the captain of the towne (which he sent me in the morning) to shew us the same, as cumming from him, for he is nige of kinn unto the Marquess of Pescara, to whom it belongethe. So we made this jorney to Ischia by seea, which is xviij miles from Naples: where after owr arrivall, presenting unto the captain this letter from the Marquess, we were lovinglie receaved and gentlie entertayned. There went with me thither Mr. Stradling, where we laye that night. The next daye we were shewed the situation, strengthe, fortification and ordre of the towne of Ischia. The maine yland is xx miles in compass, full of great hilles and villages, the towne is seperated from the maine yland and is an yland of it self, saving that on the side towardes the maine yland it hath a bridge made of a heape of stones within piles to go in and owt at. The towne standethe upon a rocke and the castle on hige upon the verie topp of the rocke. Beside the castle, there is a litle privie staiere cutt owt of the stone to go upp and downe at yf neede bee. At the entrie into the towne we must passe iiij or v gates, and somme of yron. After we are passed the first gate, we go throwgh a vawte or entre that is cutt owt of the rocke for passage, in the which we continue untill we cum a hige upon the rocke where the towne standethe, where there is a verie

open aere to looke all abowt both by seea and by land. Within the towne there be iiij or v larg sestornes cutt in the verie rocke to receave and keep the raign water within them, which by pipes and conduictes is convayed into them. And indeede in all points we found the towne no lesse then the Marquess had said. Three miles from this towne, there is an other yland adjoining to yt, called Procida, which is nothing so big as this, nor the towne so faire, nor so strong. When we had seene whatsoever was worthe sight in the towne of Ischia, we departed towardes Naples again in a vessell, owr leave first taken of the Captain, who had so gentlie entreated us at owr being there. And thus on neyther-side of Naples was there anie thing left unseene that was worthie to be seene.

This realm of Naples is verie plentifull of all things behouffull for the lyving of mann. For yf in the countrey of Calabria (which by the reason of so manie sharpe hige hilles and stonie rockes is communlie adjudged the worst and barronest part of the realm) ye find such great abundance of necessarie things (besides other dilicaties of pleasure), as is wheate, barlie, and all other graine, wine of all tastes, oyle, sugar, honie, waxe, salte, bothe owt of mines, and made of salt water, gold, sylver, wolles, silke in great quantitie, manna a verie rare thing and precious, saffron, olive trees, figg trees, arang trees, lymons, citrons with a number of other plesant fruts ; what judge ye maye ye find in the other partes of the realm, which are plaine feeldes and dailie tilled, as Terra di lavoro and Paglia [Apulia], which for the fertilitie of the ground are esteamed the best partes in the realm. The citie itself is replenisshed with all things, so good cheape in respect of all other cities in Italie, that it is wonder to see, and in especiallie the great quantity of fruts that are there. It is communlie called Napoli Gentile, by the reason of the great Nobilitie owt of all partes of the realm within it, which (as I have said) have their severall palaces there. At owr being here there arrived a shipp which had browght in herr from Manfredonia iij hundrethe brass peecs great and small, which had the armes of the Duke of Saxonie and the Landegrave upon them, and upon som of them the pope was made like unto a devell. These peecs and manie mo were taken when th'Emperor had the victorie against the Germanes, and most of them were convayed to Naples by seea. The most of them that cam this time to Naples were hackbutts a

croke.[1] But some of them were faire great peeces, bothe canons, culverines and sacres. Here I taried for the companie of Mr. Stradling and Grinwaye a monethe after my cumming owt of Sicilia. The xxvijth of April we departed owt of Naples and that morning arrived there from Genoa the Prince Andrea Doria with xl galies, to go on his jorneye towardes Aphrica, and to take the xij galies that were in Naples with him, which towne of Aphrica [Tunis] (as I have said) he tooke in September folowing.

) From Naples to Patria . . . . . xv^{ml}

Hard by this towne of Patria appeare the old ruines of the citie of Linternum, where Scipio Aphricanus dwelt in exile owt of his country. It is not farr from the seea. By this place is a lague where we pass, which is called Lago della Patria and in sum place it is two miles brode, and insom other a mile, half a mile, and more and less.

Emong the ruines here there is a fountain or spring of sowre water, whiche th'inhabitants saye is good for the headache, and yf a mann drink unordinatlie of yt, yt makethe him dronke as wine dothe. .

Before we cum to Mondragone we pass throwgh a great woode which is verie parellous for theves and robbars.

) From Patria to Castel Mare di Vulturno . . x^{ml}

This is upon the river Vulturno that cummeth from Capua and where Terra di lavoro hathe his beginning. In this place stoode onse the auntient citie of Vulturnum.

ϑ From thense to Rocca di Mondragone . . v^{ml}

This castle standethe upon the hill called in time past Mons Massicus, a mile from the seea.

) From thense to the passage of Garigliano . . x^{ml}

Most writers saye that after we are past this river we cum into Campania or Terra di lavoro.

This river was named in times past Lyris.

At the passage of it we may discern the old ruines of Minturne, where the generall counsell was kept in the yere of our Lord 297, where there is to bee seene a theater almost hole, and a sumptious aqueduct with dyverse other antiquities.

[1] A hackbut a croke was a hackbut or arquebuse supported on a rest by a hook of iron fastened to the barrel (Meyrick, *Anc. Arm.*). A sacre or saker was a piece of ordnance of three and a half inches bore (Halliwell).

) From Garigliano to Mola . . . . . x^{m}

This towne may be so called from the abundance of milles within yt that are driven by the force of the swyft springes that cum owt of the hilles there. The countrey here abowt is faire and pleasant, full of bewtifull gardines. Here it is thowght was Ciceroe's villa Formiana, which he speakethe of 2 lib. de oratore, that Scipio and Lælius beeing wearie of studie refresshed their mindes with sportes and pastimes. And Martial also makethe mention of yt.

O temperatæ dulce Formiæ littus.

And a mann that markethe the old sepultures, the ruines of great buildings and the number of epitaffes graven in stone, may soone judge that this place hathe bine muche inhabited in times past.

I drue owt certain epitaffes that I sawe there in gardines, wherof this was one, graven in a peece of marble a foote and a half long and a foote brode:

Imp. Cæsari Divi Hadriani f.
Divi Trajani nep. Divi Nervæ
Pronepoti Tito Ælio Hadriano
Antonino Aug. Pio Pont. Max.
Trib. Pot. xj Cos. iiij P.P.
Formiani publice.

And in another peece of marble like unto that:

L. Brutio L. F. Pal. Celeri
Equo Public. Præs. Coh. III
Aug. Thrag. Equit.
L. Brutius Primitivo Pater et
Justeia Mater
filio optimo
P.S.P.L. D.P.P.

And in suche an other, this that followeth:

L. Varronio L. F. Pal.
Capitoni Scribæ Ædili C. Velato II
Viro Quinquen. Curatori aquarum Patrono
Coloniæ ordo, Regalium quorum honore
Contentus sua pecunia posuit. L.D.D.D.

From Mola and Castellone to Fundi . . xxiij^{ml}.

All this waye we go upon Via Appia, which was made of faire

larg stone. This towne standethe in a plaine, with a frutefull countrey abowt yt, where are verie delicate wines, which Martial coold not have kept till they bee old, as he saith: [1]

Hœc Fundana tulit fœlix autumnus opimi
Expressit mulsum consul et ipse bibet.

So dothe Strabo and Plini also praise the wine of this countrey marvelouslie: this citie was sacked by Barbarossa, captain on the seea for the Turke, anno 1534. It belongethe now to the prince of Salmone.

℈ From Fundi to Terracina . . . . . x^ml

Beefore we cum to the towne we passe the Marisshes and cum to a straite passage betwext the hill and the seea cutt of the rocke by force of hand. And there entre we owt of the realm into the Pope's land.

This towne is built upon a rocke besides the hige hilles, compassed abowt with fennes and marisshes that the passage is verie daungerouse except a mann know the waye. Upon the hill there be manie antiquities, and emong other a mann may behold a faire theater. Suetonius makethe mention that Tiberius th'Emperor being at supper upon a time here abowt Terracina at the Prætorium, there fell sodainlie from the rocke above certain great stones which slewe dyverse of his frindes and servantes: and it was so sodainlie that Tiberius himself had much a do to skape. The countrey abowt is faire and pleasant, full of vines, and other trees of sundrie frutes. By yond Terracina in owr waye from Naples to Roome there is a river called Astura and a castle upon it of the same name, where Cicero fleeing owt of the handes of M. Antonius, was taken by Popilius (whose lyf he had saved before) and there most cruellie cutt of his head; as Livi and Plutarc write of him. And here we may see Monte Circello [Circeo] upon the left hand by the seea side, which is verie hige to behold a farr of.

℈ From Terracina to Piperno . . . . xvj^ml

This towne standethe upon the hill named in times past Privernum, as Vergil saith: [Æn. xi. 539.]

Pulsus ob invidiam [regno], viresque superbas
Priverno antiqua Metabus cum excederet urbe.

[1] *Ep.* xiii. 113. 'Mustum' is the usual reading, not 'mulsum.'

♃ From thense to Sarmineta . . . . xij^{ml}

This towne standethe a hige upon a hill, benethe at the rootes of the hill there are certain hostries to lodg travaylers, where as do appeare certain old ruines. And it is thowght the place called in the Scripture Tres tabernæ was here, and not betwext Ostia and Roome.

♃ From thense to Velitri . . . . . xvj^{ml}

This is a verie auntient citie placed upon a hill, and was wont to be the beawtifull and glorious citie of the Volsci. Yt reserveth his old name still. This citie hath bine verie famous as well for the auntientie of yt, as for that the predicessors of themperor Octavius Augustus had their beginning here. The wine here abowt Velitri is muche praysed.

☽ From Velitri to Marino . . . . . viij^{ml}

This towne standethe upon a hill emong thicke wooddes and trees. Not farr from yt is a great lague. Sum imaginn this to be yt that was wont to be called Villa Mariana, nighe unto which dwelt Lutius Murrenna. This towne belongethe to the house of Colonna in Roome.

♁ From thense to Roome . . . . . xij^{ml}

The countrey abowt is faire and plaine on all sides, full of antiquities, aqueducts and such other.

In Roome was now pope Giovan Maria Cardinall di Monte, called Pope July the third, elected the vij of Februarie last past.

This yere being 1550, the yere of Jubyley was celebrated in Roome, which is everie xxvth yere. And ymmediatlie after the pope was created he gave the first stroke at the wall in St. Petre's churche (according to the maner) called the golden gate, and is kept mured uppe untill the yere of Jubilie. And as the pope his owne parson gevethe the first stroke here in St. Petre's Churche, so be there cardinalles appointed to the like in the other vj principall churches abowt Roome: then the first stroke ons geven, there be masons readie to digg it downe, and so it standethe open all that yere: at the yere's end it is closed upp again. Whosoever will receave the full indulgence of this Jubilie must visit the vii principall churches of Roome all in on daie (which he shall have inough to do) a foote. With these and like fond traditions

is the papall seate cheeflie maintained, to call menn owt of all places of christendome to lighten their purses here, at pardons, indulgencs, and jubileis to stocks and stones. But suche fond folishnes was never better spied owt then it is now, nor less observed in all places, thowghe manie perforce bee kept blinde still. And especiallie in Roome itself where they have bine so used to yt, that they are wearie of yt a great number.

We arrived in Roome the last daye of Aprill, and from thense we sett forwardes towardes Siena the vith of May, the verie same journey I cam before by Viterbo and Bolsena, which is rekoned an hundrethe miles, where we arrived the ix^{h} of May.

At my return to Siena I found there Mr. Parkar and Mr. Barkar. And after I had settled my self sumwhat to my book [1] I continued there but a while, beeing sent for by letters from my brother to repaire towardes th'Emperor's Court to him with convenient speede.

At this time was Don Diego in the towne, who cam from Roome to declare unto the lordes of the towne th'Emperor's will, how for the less charges unto his Majesty and for the better saveguard of the towne, his pleasure was to build a fortress there, upon a hill within the towne, which full sore against their willes, agreed thereunto. The place was assigned by Saint Domenico and the plott cast owt before I cam awaye; the which fortress in the yere 1552 was cast downe to the earth again after the French armie was entred into the towne, and they restored to their accustomed freedom and libertie, as Claudio Tolomei declared in his oration to the French King at Compeign, beeing sent unto him ambassador from the citie to render due thanks vnto him for setting them at libertie.

I departed owt of Siena the xix of Julye to Florence, where I found Mr. Peto and Whithorn. From hense I went to Bologna and so to Ferrara, where at Frankolini, five miles of, I tooke bote and so cam to Chioggia, which is an yland within the seea, built as Venice is. From hense cum all the abundance of mellones that in the sommer time are in Venice. Afterward we sailed to Venice, which is xx miles. In Venice I rested a daie with Mr. Jhon Arundell, where I visited Mr. Edmund Harvelle's wyff, whom she had buried [2] that sommer, complayning greatlie of the loss of so

[1] My book. See p. 78, *infra*.
[2] See *Cal. of Venetian State Papers*.

worthie a husband (as he was indeede), as gentle a gentleman as ever served king, of whom all Englishemen found great lacke.

) From Venice to Margera [Malghera] . . v^{ml}
θ From thense by Mestre to Treviso . . . xij^{ml}

By this citie hathe all the countrey abowt his name Marca Trivigiana, bicause there was a Marquess sett there by the Lombardes, and gave him to his title the citie and territorie of the same, whiche is verie frutefull of all things necessarie.

The towne is now so fortified by the Venetians, that it is reckoned on of the strongest holds in all Italye.

$\ni$ From hense to Castel franco . . . . xv^{ml}
$\ni$ From thense to Bassano . . . . . x^{ml}

This is a prettie towne under the Venetiens, situated upon the Brenta that goeth to Padoa. Owt of this towne had the Carrari that in times past were lordes of Padoa, their beginning. And here in owr dayes was born the famous clarke in letters of humanitie Lazarus Bonamicus, stipended reader in the schooles of Padoa of the Greeke and Latin tung by the Siniory of Venice with a great stipend.

From thense to Trento Isbruck and Ausburge as is before in my journey into Italie 1548, and hereafter shall be better sett furthe in 1554.

From Venice to Augusburg are lvj dutch leagues, which are two hundrethe and three score and tenn miles.

I arrived in Augusburg the vth of August; where th'Emperor laye being a litle before returned owt of the lowe countreys. The King of Romanes his brother, the Quene of Hungarie regent of Flaunders his syster, the Prince of Spaign his sonn, the Dutchess of Lorraign, and dyverse other of the nobilitie of Germanie and Spaign.

Here I found my brother attending for Sir Richard Morisine's cumming, who was appointed by the King and the Counsell to succede him in his roome with th'Emperor.

Th'Emperor had now made great alterations in this citie, bothe of politike government and also of the exclesiasticall jurisdiction, exiling and banisshing the preachers owt of the precint of th'Empire. And as all things maintaynedd with force endure not long, so was this alteration but for a time; for when he

thowght him self at the point to have browght his pretended purposes to pass, he was then farthest of, and they tooke no place. At this time he wold have had the King of Romaynes, and Maximilian, his sonn, King of Boeme, to have agreed to make the Prince of Spaign, his sonn, Emperor after his decease, and during lyff to be coadjutor with him in the Empire. The whiche demaund did neyther lieke the King of Romanes nor his sonn, as ever afterward a mann might gather by their countenance, for they seemed to bee alwais sadd and pensive of the matter. Here the Emperor gathered to gather the Counsell of the Empire.

During the time of mine abode here I translated into Englishe the Tragedie of Free Will, which afterward I dedicated to my Lord Marquess of Northampton.

When Mr. Morisin was arrived and my brother had taken his leave of th'Emperor, the Prince of Spaign and the rest of the nobilitie of the Cowrt, we sett owt of Auspurg the xith of Novembre.

) From Auspurg to Canstat . . . . xvj^{lcgs}
) ,, thense to Vayhinghenn . . . iij^{ls}
) ,, ,, ,, Bretten . . . . ij^{ls}
Δ ,, ,, ,, Rainhausen [Rheinhausen] . iiij^{ls}

Here we had a bote that cam from Strasburg to meete us here, wherin we shipped owr horses and cariag to the number of xvij great horse, and xxx parsones; the mules and gheldings went by land. And so from hense we went downe the ryver Rhyne, landing everie night in som good towne.

⅄ 1 From Rainhawsen to Wormes . . . vij^{le}
⅄ 2 From thense to Mens [Maguntia] . . vij^{le}
) 3 ,, ,, ,, Bachraghe [Bacharach] . vij^{le}

From hense come all the perfect Renishe wines whiche growe here abowt in great quantitie.

θ From thense to Covlense [Coblentz] . . v^{ll}
) 4 ,, ,, ,, Winter [Königswinter] . vj^{ll}
Ɔ ,, ,, ,, Bann [Bonn] . . . ij^{ll}
⅄ 5 ,, ,, ,, Colain [Cologne] . . iiij^{ll}
Ɔ ,, ,, ,, Disteldorf [Düsseldorf] . v^{ll}

This is the Duke of Cleve's towne, wherein he hathe a faire palaice; and here (the Duke not being at home) we were pre-

sented with a pipe of wine, and a wild bore, by the Dutchesse, that sent yt to the bote to us, my brother not going to land at all him self, but sent Mr. Hampton with an other.

) 6 From thense to Kayserswert . . . . j^{le}
) 7 ,, ,, ,, Resse (Rees) . . . . vij^{le}
♃ ,, ,, ,, Nimega in Geldres (Nijmegen) vj^{le}
) 8 ,, ,, ,, Tyell (Tiel) . . . . iiij^{le}

Here we rid by land and the bote cam after against the river.

♃ From thense to Hertzukenbusse [Hertogenbosch] iiij^{le}

This towne is in Brabant, and is other wise named Bullduke [Bois-le-Duc]. We travailed no farther by water but sold our bote here.

) 9 From thense to Borle . . . . . v^{le}
♁ 10 ,, ,, ,, Antwerpe . . . . vij^{le}

We arrived in Antwerpe the xxx of Novembre, and the viij of Decembre we sett owt from thense towardes Calice; where after our arrivall we taried for wind and passage vij or viij dayes. And at last we had a verie yll passag, of a crare[1] and two hulks; the violence of the winde was such that we in the crare recovered Dover; but the hulks, wherin the horses were, were dispersed; the on was driven to Sandwich and the other to Rochester. And the report was they were seene upon Goodwinn Sands, which feared we not a litle.

Upon Christmas day in the morning abowt ix a clocke we arrived at the Cowrt, accompanied with Sir Anthony Aucher,[2] Master of the Jewell house, the King lying then at Grinwhiche. That morning we cam from Dartford, where my brother saluted by the waye the Ladie Ann of Cleve.[3]

This yere was Bollaign [Boulogne] rendered uppe unto the French men again.

Duke Maurice at th'Emperor's comaundement begann his sieg before Madenburg, [Magdeburg] in Saxonie.

[1] Crare or crayer, a small trading vessel. The word is used by Shakespeare, *Cymb.* iv. 2, 205 (Murray).

[2] Sir Ant. Aucher, of Ottringden, Kent, Marshal of Calais, at the taking of which place by the French both he and his son were killed.

[3] Lady Ann of Cleve, the repudiated wife of Henry VIII., had been granted the lands of Dartford Priory for her life by Edward VI.

In this yere was Master Bucer in England and read openlie in the schooles in Cambridge: likewise Peter Martir in Oxford.

1551.

Upon Newyere's Daye my Lord Marquiss of Northampton, Lord William Aparr,[1] receaved me into his service at Grynwhiche, and upon Tweluf Yeven had me with him to my Lord Cobham's house of Cowling Castle,[2] where he dissported himself a while with my Lord of Ruttland, my Lord Braye, Mr. Nicholas Throgmorton, and dyverse other, and returned again to the Cowrt.

[3] Abowt the beginning of Lent all humane things not keaping evermore in on cowrse nor continuallie abiding in on estate, but as matters of the world, somtime unstedfast variable and (as I may say after faire wether) raignie, were overcast with the sodain darknes which endured untill Christmas after; being th'occation of great heavines and much sorowe, yea and a great deale more then did owtwardlie appeare to the eyes of a number, which fedd with woordes turning the truthe into a bye waye remayned satisfied, thowghe inward grief (understanding on all sides compassion to be taken, but where it behoved most) was covered with an owtward shadowe: and alwais under a meerie countenance sorow and lamentation hidd in the heart. But it was not so oppressed nor so heavie before, as afterward the contentation of minde did with gladnes lighten it, for that that folowed upon it throwgh sundrie wayes were first proved in vaine, and manie meanes made which took verie litle or none effect: neyther did anie prevaile at all saving that whiche appeared sodainlie of it self at a time unloked for, when almost all hoope was past; like as

[1] Lord William Parr, or Aparr. Brother of Queen Katherine, sixth and last wife of Henry VIII. Cr. Marquis of Northampton 1547, Lord Great Chamberlain and K.G. Attainted 1554 and his honours forfeited. Cr. again Marquis of Northampton 1559; died 1571. Nicolas's *Peerage*.

[2] Cowling or Cooling Castle was the seat of George Brooke, Lord Cobham, near Rochester. The castle was attacked and taken by Sir Thos. Wyatt, January 1554, during the insurrection. But Lord Cobham seems nevertheless to have been suspected of complicity in the rising. From Berry's *Kent Pedigrees* it seems that Sir Thos. Wyatt and Lord Cobham were cousins.

[3] There is a note, 'Quere,' at the side here, which seems to refer to this paragraph.

miseries take their leave when occation to rejoice suppliethe their roome; so dothe the sodain joye please muche more when it cummethe by a chaunce unloked for before.

The Viage of my Lord Marquess of Northampton unto Fraunce.

The xv^th^ daie of May in the v^th^ yere of King Edward the VI^th^ there was sent by his Majesty and his Counsell in to Fraunce, to Henry the Second, Frenche King, in commission, my Lord Marquess of Northampton, the Bishoppe of Elye,[1] Sir Philippe Hobye, knight, Sir William Pickering,[2] knight, Sir Thomas Smythe,[3] knight, and Mr. Doctor Olyver,[4] somtime dean of Frideswise in Oxford and Doctor of the Lawe, Sir Jhon Mason,[5] knight, who was the third parson in the commission and Ambassador resident with the French King. To accompanie the Lord Marquess on this journey were sent these noblemen and gentlmen: the Earle of Worcester, the Earle of Ruttland, the Earle of Urmund, the Viscount Fitz Walter, the Viscount Lile, sonn to th'Erle of Warwicke, the Lord of Burgayney, the Lord Braye, the Lord Yvers, Mr. Nicholas Throgmorton, Mr. Henry Sidnay, gentlmen of the Privie Chamber, Sir William Cobham, knight, Sir Jhon Cutts, knight, Sir Jhon Parratt, knight, Sir Anthonie Guidott, knight, Sir Gilbert Dithike, knight, communlie called Garter, and prinncipall King of Armes, Mr. William Fitzwilliams, Mr. Henry Cary,[6] Mr.

[1] Bishop of Ely; Thomas Goodrich d. 1554. A list of names corresponding to this was sent home by Lord Northampton in June 1551, and remains among the Foreign State Papers of this date: it differs from this in giving 'Lord Rivers' for 'Lord Yvers,' 'Guidotti' for 'Guidott,' and 'Edmund' for 'Edward' Varney. Lord Yvers or Evers appears, however, to be correct.

[2] Sir Will. Pickering (1516–1575), M.P. for Warwick. Knighted on Ed. VI.'s accession. English Ambassador at Paris 1551. (*D.N.B.*)

[3] Sir Thos. Smyth (1512–1577), of Hill Hall, Essex, a statesman and scholar. Vice-Chan. of Camb. Univ., Ambassador to France in 1562 (cf. Gyll's *Hist. of Wraysbury*).

[4] Dr. John Oliver, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford. Advanced by Wolsey's interest; died 1552. (*D.N.B.*)

[5] Sir John Mason (1503–1566), son of a cowherd at Abingdon. Clerk to Privy Council 1542. English Ambassador to France 1550. (*D.N.B.*)

[6] Sir Henry Carey (1524–1596), cousin to Queen Elizabeth, cr. Lord Hunsdon 1554. His daughter married Sir Edward Hoby, son of the writer.

Henry Knolles, Mr. Frauncs Varney, Mr. Edward Varney, Mr. Jhon Yong, Mr. William Thomas, secretarie unto the Lords the commissioners, Mr. Nicholas Alexander, Mr. Lucas Fringar, Mr. Chester, heralt at armes, and Rudgedragon, persevant at armes. Of my Lord Marquess' owne companie there went to waite upon him Mr. Hew Rich, Mr. Thomas Cobham, Mr. Francs Hinde, Mr. Thomas Carew, Mr. Clark, his steward, Mr. Thomas Trundle, ussher, Mr. Fleare, Mr. Daniell, Mr. William Rouse, Mr. Edward Horsey, Mr. Francs Horsey, Mr. Nicholas Minn, Mr. Hall, Mr. Grisley, Mr. Sturton, Mr. Thomas Ashleye, Mr. Kyrkham, Mr. Lyster of his seller, Thomas Middleton, his page, and I. There was also Mr. Thomas Levar, his chaplene, Mr. Roger Straunge, and manie of his yemen. The hole number of the noblemen and gentlemen with their traynes was two hundredthe & lx in all. My Lord Marques arrived at Calice, and from thense the xxix of May he went to Bullain [Boulogne], where he was receaved right honorablie with gunnshott and other triumphes; and where also mett with him on Mons^{r} di Mendotsa, a Spaniard evermore trayned and browght uppe in Fraunce, and of the French King's Privie Chambre, who was appointed there by the French King to attend upon my Lord Marquess and to conduct him with his nobles and wholl traine unto the Cowrt.

♃	From Calice to Boulaing [Boulogne]			. .	xx^{ml}
♃	,,	thense to Monterol [Montreuil]		. .	
♃	,,	,,	,, Abvile [Abbeville]	. . .	x^{le}
♂	,,	,,	,, Aminens [Amiens]	. . .	x^{le}
☽	,,	,,	,, Breteul		vj^{le}
♃	,,	,,	,, Cleremont		vij^{le}
☽	,,	,,	,, Lusers [Luzarches]	. .	viij^{le}
♄	,,	,,	,, Paris		vij^{le}
♃	,,	,,	,, Charters		x^{le}
♃	,,	,,	,, Estempes		x^{le}
☽	,,	,,	,, Turye [Toury]	. . .	xij^{le}
♄	,,	,,	,, Orleans		xvj^{le}

This is an Universitie standing in a good aere. Here my Lord Marquess both cumming and going was honorablie receaved, and presented with wine and spices for two or three dayes that he remayned there, and in like maner all the commissioners. Also there mett with him a gentlman of the French King's Privie

Chamber, who had prepared against his cumming diverse vessells to transport him, the commissioners, and all the whole traine unto Nantz in Britaign, by the river of Loyre.

) From Orleans to Lozans . . . . . vij^{le}
ϑ From thense to Bloys [Blois] . . . . . x^{le}

Here my Lord Marquess both cumming and going visited the Dolphinn and the rest of the King's children, which laye here in the castle.

ϑ From hense to Ambois [Amboise] . . . x^{le}
θ From thense to Toures [Tours] . . . . vij^{le}

Abowt this towne the countrey is verie plentifull, abundant with all things necessarie, and within the towne there is silke made.

ϑ From thense to Salmure [Saumur] . . . xiij^{le}
) „ „ „ Pont de Sei (Ponts de Cé) . x^{le}

In this towne we encountred the Marisshall of Sant Andrea, that was sent by the French King into England, accompanied with many nobles and gentlmen, who cam to visit my Lord at his lodging, upon the bridge, and had taken upp the towne for him self and his traine before our arrivall.

Δ From thense to Ansenis [Ancenis] . . . xiij^{le}

Here Mr. Mason cumming from the French cowrt mett with my Lord.

θ From thense to Nantz [Nantes] . . . vij^{le}

Here my lord was right honorablie receaved of them of the towne with great gunnshott. And not long after his arrivall there cam to him Mons^{r} de Chastillon, who accompanied him unto Chasteaubriant, where the King lay, and by the way was greatlie feasted by him.

) From thense to Chasteaubrian . . . . x^{le}

At his cumming towardes this towne there mett with him Mons^{r} d'Anguien, the Duke Vandosme's brother, with xxx or xl horse. And a litle withowt the towne gate mett him Mons^{r} Delmal with dyverse other noblmen in companie with him; and so was he accompanied unto the Castle, where the King was. And after he alighted from horsbacke he was browght upp into the Chambre of

Presence, where the King remayned for him, accompanied with the Cardinall of Lorraign, the Duke of Guise's brother, the Cardinall of Chastillon, Mons^{r} de Chastillon's brother, the Duke of Guise, with the rest of his brethren, and the Cunstable of Fraunce with diverse other noblemen, at his Privie Chamber dore: whereas the King embraced my Lord Marquess verie courtiouslie and all the noblemen and gentlmen of England, wheras my Lord presented him his letters of credence from the King's Majesty. And afterward my Lord tooke his leave of him and was browght unto his chambre within the cowrt, which was uppon Friday, the xixth of June.

Upon Saturdaye at after noone, Mr. Garter, with other that had the charg, was sent to the Chappell to prepare places for the King, my Lord Marquess, and the Cunstable, for the order of the Garter.

Uppon Sunday, the xxi of June, Mr. Garter and Mr. Chester browght the robes of the Garter for the French King into the Quene's great chamber, which was appointed for the same; and there my Lord Marquess and the Cunstable (being Knight of the Garter) did putt on their robes, and Mr. Garter the King's Majesty's cote of armes, and going before the two knights browght the French King's robes into his Privie Chamber, wherin entred my Lord of Elye and no mo of the commissioners of England. There my Lord of Elye made a preposition or oration unto the King for deliverie of the order of the Garter from the King's Majesty, whereunto the Cardinall of Lorraign made answere of thanks in the French King's behalf. That ceremonie done my Lord Marquess delivered the George, Garter, robes, and collar unto the French King, where was delivered unto Mr. Garter the French King's gowne of his backe, which was of blacke satin with xlviij paire of agletts of gold sett full with pearles, esteamed worth l pounds, and a chaine of gold of two hundreth French crownes.

At the cumming furth of the King owt of his Privie Chamber everie gentlman and nobleman tooke his place before the King unto the chappell. First the gentlmen of Fraunce and England, and then the noblemen of Fraunce and England, and after them the noblemen of the order of Fraunce, and the Commissioners of England, where Sir Jhon Mason tooke the highest place as appertayned unto him, being Ambassador resident. Then before the two knights of th'Order, which were my Lord Marquess and the

Constable, went Chester, wearing the King's Majesty's cote of armes. And after them, before the King, the Sargeants at Armes and Mr. Garter. Then cam the King betwext the Cardinall of Lorraign and the Cardinall Chastillon; and after the King such as were of his Privie Chamber. In this manner they cam to the chappell, where was song a solemn Mass after the French fasshion, with holie water and holie breade, etc. After service was done they returned unto the King's chamber of estate, wheras dined with the King my Lord Marquiss and the Cunstable. The other nobles both of England and Fraunce dined together in a great chamber at on table apointed for them.

Uppon Tuisdaye, the xxxth of June, the French King removed his Cowrt towards Nantz, wheras upon Sunday, the xij of Julye, he made his entrie. All this time my Lord Marquess, with certain lordes with him, was with the King, and all the rest of the lordes and other of the traine remayned at Nantz against his cumming.

The Castle of Chasteubriant standethe upon the hill full of pleasant wooddes, delectable walkes, faire springs of freshe water, freshe gardines and ortchards replenisshed with all sorts of savorie fruts, bewtifull prospects all abowt, and verie helthsom aere. It belongethe to the Cunstable of Fraunce. The palaice is verie princelie, both for the building and also for the conveyance of roomes; bequethed unto him by Mons^{r} de Chasteubriant when he died, full litle thinking he shuld then have departed owt of this world.

Th'entrie of the French King and Quene into Nantz, the head towne of Britaign.

The French King (as the maner of Fraunce is) is after his coronation receaved with great triumphe in to all the cities of his realm, for the first time of his cumming: and for that he had not as yet bine in Nantz sith he was made King he entended to make his entrie ynto yt now, at my Lord Marquess being with him, which was in this maner:—

First there cam fowre bands of souldiers, which were abowt a thowsand in all.

Secondarile, three score townesmenn on horsbacke.

Thirdlie, three score redd cotes which cam before the provost a

foote, and after them the provost of the towne, accompanied with l on horsebacke, and som what after them xxv townesmenn on horsback.

Fowrthlie, a great quantitie of friers and priestes in maner of procession; after whom folowed xx of the Gard on horsbacke, and the Gard Swisers on foote in good ordre.

Fiftlie, xxvij great gentlmen and lordes, as the Ringrave, my Lord of Urmund, the Cardinall of Lorraign, the Cardinall Chastillon, and an Italian Cardinall sent to the King by the Pope, called Cardinall Crispio; and next unto them the Master of the Horse, Deputie, and Mr. Cunstable, and after them the King on a horse verie richile trapt with imbroderment of silver, riding under a canapie born by iiij gentlmen. Next to the King rid the Prince of Rochsurion with Mons^{r} Danguien; and after them the Lord Marquess of Northampton, having on the on side of him Mons^{r} Delmal, and on the other side Mons^{r} Denemurs. Then folowed other Erles of England and Fraunce, the Erle of Worcester, the Erle of Ruttland, with other French lordes and gentlmen to the number of xl; after them cam lii of the Gard on horsbacke, and last of all a great multitude of people.

An howre or therabowt after the King was thus entred the Quene made herr entrie, having before herr l Swisers of the Gard and after them the Captain of the Castle with his band, wherof were xxxij vellute cotes, and a great number of noblmenn and gentlmenn on horsbacke. Three pages of honor, they and their horses all in white vellute imbrodered with redd and sylver: wherof the on caried behinde him the Quene's great Caskett coverid with white vellute and imbrodered with redd and sylver; an other ridd on a doble horse for the Quene, all imbrodered sutable as beefore: also there were two spare horses for the Quene, all trapt and imbrodered as the rest.

The Quene herrself rid in a littar born upon two great horses, and uppon them two pages all with colowrs and imbroderies sutable with the rest. And so was the Quene herr self. Ymmediatlie after the Quene folowed xx gentlwomen, of the which fowre were apparelled all in blacke, and xvj all in white damaske, white hatts, and great white fethers in them. And thus rid the Quene with her traine throwgh the towne towards the Castle, after the King. The old and the yong Quenes of Scottes cam not with the Cowrt to Nantz, but remayned behinde at Chasteaubriant to go an other waye.

Upon Friday, the xvij day of Julye, my Lord Marquess and all the hole traine removed from Nantz towardes Angiers [Angers] by land, costing[1] the river of Loyer; folowing the French King, which was departed before. At Chasteubriant the French King shewed my Lord Marquess great plesure and disport, sometime in plaing at tenice, sometime in shooting, sometime in hunting the bore, somtime at the palla malla, and somtime with his great boisterlie Britons wrastling with my lorde's yemen of Cornwall, who had much a do to gete the upper hand of them: and everie night ther was dansing in the great hall, and somtime musike in the King's Privie Chamber. He shewed him the like at Nantz with skirmisshes sometime uppon the river with bottes and vesselles furnisshe warlike.

) From Nantz to Ansenis . . . . . vij^{le}
θ From thense to Angiers [Angers] . . . x^{le}
$\ni$,, ,, ,, Salmure [Saumur] . . . x^{le}
θ ,, ,, ,, Toures . . . . . xvij

From Chasteubriant to Toures are xv postes. Uppon Sunday, the xix of July, my Lord Marquess and all the noblemen of England tooke their leave of the French King in Angiers. The King went from hense on Pilgromag a foote to a place called Nostredam de Clery, which he dothe accustomablie use onse a yere.

$\ni$ From Toures to Amboise . . . . vij^{le}
$\ni$ From thens to Bloyes . . . . . x^{le}
$\dot{\ni}$,, ,, ,, Orleanse . . . . xvij^{le}

From Toures to Orleans are viij postes.

A three leagues from Bloys there is a statlie place of the King's, somwhat owt of the hige waye, called Chambray [Chambord], a verie bewtifull palaice and curiouslie built with great conveyance of roomes within yt; so that when it shalbe throwghlie built uppe it may well be said to bee on of the fairest peecs of woorke in Christendom. At everie great towne in Fraunce where my Lord arrived he was right honorablie receaved of the principalles of the townes, both cumming and goinge, with great presentes of all kinde of wines and sundrie kindes of spices; and during the time that he laye in the Cowrt his table was provided for at the French King's charge, and the King's servants wayted upon him to serve him at table.

[1] Costing: *see* note, p. 39.

) From Orleans to Tury . . . . . xij^{le}
♃ From thense to Estemps . . . . x^{le}
♃ ,, ,, ,, Chartres . . . . v^{le}
♁ ,, ,, ,, Paris . . . . . x^{le}

From Orleance to Paris are viij postes.

Here my Lord arrived in his journey homwardes uppon Saturdaye, the xxv day of Julye; and the first daye of August Mons^{r} Mendotsa presented him a cupbord of plate, on the French King's behalf, of the value of two thowsand Crownes. There was browght also for my brother plate of the value of vi hundrethe crownes, he being goone before homwardes by the waye of Roane [Rouen]; and also for Mr. Smith three hundrethe crownes; for Mr. D^{r} Olyver two hundrethe crownes. Mr. Mason's was reserved untill his cumming, which was a cheine of xij hundrethe crownes; and of that value was my Lord of Elie's cuppbord of plate.

During the time of owr abode in Paris, Mons^{r} de Bies,[1] who was committed to prison in this King's father's dayes, for the matters of Boulaign, was committed to perpetuall prison and disgraded of the Order of Saint Michell.

The French King told my Lord he should not bee putt to death, for that he made him knight in the feeld. Here we had newes owt of England how the sweating sicknes did raign there, and that there died of it the yong Duke of Suffolke,[2] the Lord Charles his brother, the Lord Crumwell, Sir Jhon Luttrell, Alexander Carew, and manie other knights and gentlmen of much worthines; of this disease died also my syster Elisabethe[3] with her sonn. We taried in Paris x daies; and after owr departure from thense S^{r} Raff Coppinger,[4] a worthie knight, whom we found in Fraunce

[1] Mr. de Bies (Oudart du Biez), a distinguished general, a Marshal of France 1542. His downfall was unjustly brought about by his enemies, among whom were the Guises, by accusations brought against his conduct at the surrender and retaking of Bologne, on which he was condemned to death. He appears to have been set at liberty before his death in 1551 (*Biog. Univ.*).

[2] Henry, son of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. By his death the dukedom became extinct. But the Marquis of Dorset, the father of Lady Jane Grey, was created Duke of Suffolk this same year.

[3] 'My sister Elizabeth.' The Hoby pedigree in the *Visitation of Worc.*, 1569 (Har. Soc.), gives an unnamed sister married to one Parker, who is possibly the person to whom reference is here made.

[4] Sir Ralph Coppinger, of Davington, Kent.

and had accompanied my Lord all this jorney, tooke his leave of my Lord and went to Deepe for that my ladye his wiff was newlie cum owt of England thither to him, where he died of the sweate ar he departed thense.

After my Lord Marquess' cuming away from the Cowrt Sir William Pickering, being appointed Ambassador resident by the King, succeeded Sir Jhon Mason, who tooke his jorney towardes England with my ladye.

℈ From Paris to Cleremont . . . . . xv^le
θ From thense to Amiens . . . . . xii^le
℈ „ „ „ Monterol . . . . . xx^le
℈ „ Monterol to Boulaign . . . .

Mons^r de Mendotsa fell sicke at Abvile and there remayned, not being able to bring my Lord to Boulaign, where he first receaved him to conduct him to the Cowrt. From Paris to Boulaign are xvi postes.

My Lord arrived at Boulaign the x of August, where shortlie after he tooke shippe; and in the morning betwext iij and iiij of the clocke he arrived at Dover, which was a long and troblsom passag. From thense he tooke horse and arrived the next daye at the Cowrt, leaving his traine behind him. The King lay then at Hampton Cowrt, wheras was small resort of menn, by the reason of the sicknes that raigned this yere in the realme. We that were of his howshold went by water to Gravisend to Assher [Esher], besides Hampton Cowrt, where my Ladye laye all that sommer. In this monethe of August were created at Hampton Cowrt by the King, the Erle of Warwicke Duke of Northumberland, the Erle of Wilshire Marquess of Wynchester; the Master of the Horse Sir William Herbert Lord Herbert and Erle of Penbruke; and there were made knights Sir Henry Sidney, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton,[1] Sir William Cecil,[2] Secretarie, and Sir Jhon Cheeke; also the Marquess Dorsett created Duke of Suffolk.

Abowt Michelmas the Quene of Scotts the elder tooke landing

[1] Sir Nich. Throgmorton (1515–1571), a diplomatist, son of Sir G. Throgmorton of Coughton, Warwickshire. Related through his mother to Lord Northampton. Knighted 1551.

[2] Sir Will. Cecil, created Baron Burleigh 1571; married Mildred, daughter of Sir Ant. Cooke, and was thus brother-in-law to Thos. Hoby.

by force of wether in England, where she was honorablie receaved, first by my Lord and Ladie, with manie other nobles, both lords and ladies, at Hampton Cowrt; afterwards she was conducted by water in the Quene's barge to Polle's Wharf, where she tooke land and cam to the Bishoppe's palaice, richlie apparelled for herr. The next daie after she was browght to the Cowrt at Westminster, accompanied with erles' and barons' wyves, where the King receaved herr in the Hall, and ledd her uppe into his chambres, richlie hanged on all sides. At herr departure she was conducted owt of the citie by most of the nobilitie, with their bandes of menn of armes in good ordre, and with a great number of ladies and gentlwomen.

This season cumming uppe and downe by water and attending at Hampton Cowrt for the Quene's arrivall, it was the occation unto me of a quartan ague, which held me a good space after.

After the Quene's departure we removed from Assher [Esher] to Winchester Place, in Southwarke, which my Lord Marquess had of Doctor Ponett,[1] then Bishoppe of Wynchester, in exchaung for an other howse of his in Lambeth. Here laye my Ladie all this winter.

Abowt the month of Octobre my Lord of Sommersett with other lordes and knights was committed to the Towre; to the custodie wherof, with Sir Arthur Darcye, was appointed my brother, then being on of the Privie Counsell to the King's Majesty and Master of th'Ordinance. Within vj weeks after he was browght to his arraignment to Westminster Hall, where he acquited himself verie wiselie of whatsoever could be laid at his charg: notwithstanding by the Duke of Northumberland's meanes he was condemned of fellonie and quitted of treason. The fellonie was that he pretended the death[2] of the Duke of Northumberlande, beynge a pryvy counsellor, which by stattute was made fellony.

This forsaid jorney of my Lord Marquess into Fraunce was as well to conclude a marriage betwene the King's Majestie and the French King's eldest dawghter,[3] whom we sawe and saluted at Bloys, and to ratifie and establishe the peace and amitie betwext

[1] John Poynet, Bishop of Winchester after Gardiner was deprived in 1550 til 1553, when Gardiner was restored.

[2] From here to the end of the paragraph is in a different handwriting.

[3] Elizabeth (a side-note in MS.).

the two princes, as to bring unto the King the Order of the Garter.

At owr being in Fraunce the French King made great provision for war against th'Emperor; the cheef occation whereof was the citie of Parma, which th'Emperor would have kept in his owne hands from his sonn in lawe Duke Ottavio, that had maried his bastard daughter, which, perceaving his father in lawe's entent, forsoke him cleane and fledd to the French King, who sett him in full state and possession of Parma again. And he did not onlie now turn French, but also all the house of Farnese, which in fore time were so great frinds to th'Emperor (for all he had cawsed Pier Alois, their father, to be slaine in the citie of Piacenza, and so recovered the towne to himself).

The French King, understanding how royallie the Marshall of Sant Andrea, his Cheef Commissioner into England, was rewarded by the King's Majesty at his return, and the rest of his commissioners that went with him, he sent afterward unto my Lord Marquess, by a gentlman of his that he sent to the King on his behalf, two standing massie cuppes with their covers, of the value of two thowsand crownes, which is on thowsand marks, for an augmentation of his first reward. This yere after long siege laide to yt Duke Maurice entred by composition into the towne of Magdenburg [Magdeburg].

1552.

The xxij of January the Duke of Sommersett was beheaded openlie upon the Towre Hill, to no small grief of the lokers on. So were also Sir Thomas Arundle, Sir Michell Stanappe [Stanhope], and Mr. Raff Vane, with Sir Miles Partridge hanged, for being forged upon them that they pretended the Duke of Northumberland's deathe. My lord Pagett was disgraded of the Order of the Garter, which after the King's deathe was restored unto him again, and he made of the Quene's Privie Counsell in as ample maner as ever he had bine in fore time. The v day of Februarie I went into the country with my brother William [1] and his wyff to Marden. At this time was my brother appointed to goo in parson to transport and paye in Flaunders a certain sum of money

[1] William Hoby of Hales, county Gloucester. Marden or Merdon was a manor of Sir Philip Hoby's near Hursley.

borowed there in fore time, to the which journey he prepared himself and my brother William with him, and returned again before Easter. My quartern was th'occation of my tarying at home, and when I had remayned a season in the countrey I returned again to London the xxvi of April, after I had bine ridd of my ague, where I prepared myself to goo into Fraunce and there to applie my booke [1] for a season.

The xviij of May I tooke my leave of my Lord and Ladye at Horsleye, where they laye with my Ladie Browne, afterward maried to my Lord Clinton.

From the xviij of May until the xvj of June I continued in London, tarijng till my brother were dispatched from the Cowrt, being appointed commissioner by the King to go to Calice. And when it was determined Sir Richard Cotton should goo with Sir Anthonie Selinger [2] in his place (who helped me afterward to convaye over two gheldinges which I browght with me into Fraunce to Mr. Francs Caro), I departed owt of London, and at Dover passed the seeas with Sir Anthonye Aucher and Sir Henry Palmer. At Calice I had a pasport of the Lord Deputie, the Lord Willowghbye, to pass into Fraunce, and likewise of the Treasurer, Sir Maurice Denis, to pass withowt searche.

My joreney into Fraunce.

I departed out of Calaice the ij of Julye to Boloign, Monteroll, Abvile, Amiens, Bretoile, Cleremont, Luserts, Paris. I cam to Paris the vi of July, and the ixth of the same I departed thens by water toward Roane [Rouen].

From Paris to Roane are lx leagues.

From Paris to Poxsie [Poissy]	xxij^{le}
From thens to Mantoe [Mantes] . . .	vj^{le}
,, ,, ,, Vernune [Vernon] . . .	vj^{le}
,, ,, ,, Undely [Les Andelys] . .	v^{le}

Here is a castle called Galiard, the strongest in all Normandie, built by Englishmen.

From thense to Roane [Rouen] . . . . xxj^{le}

I arrived in Roane the xij of July, and within a three weeks

[1] My book. *See* note on p. 78.

[2] Probably Sir Ant. St. Leger, of Ulcomb, Kent.

after I had receaved my stuff I retourned by the river to Paris again, by reason of my sore fote.

After I had convayed my stuff to Paris and settled myself there, the first thing I did was to translate into Englishe the third booke of the 'Cowrtisan,'[1] which my Ladie Marquess had often willed me to do, and for lacke of time ever differred it. And from thense I sent unto Sir Henry Sidney the epitome of the Italian tung which I drue owt there for him.

This done Mr. Henry Kingsmeale and I applied ourselves to the reading of the institutes of the Civill Law, being bothe lodged in a house together.

The menn of most fame and renowme in this Universitie of Paris were these: Silvius in phisike, Orontius in the mathematiks, Ramus in humanitie and philosophie.[2]

This yere the French King had taken Metz, in Lorraign, and Siena and Mirandula, in Italie. In Siena the Spaniardes were driven owt by the helpe of the towne, and the castle that was built there by th'Emperor was cast downe to the earthe; for the which entrie of the French partie Don Diego was blamed and somwhat in displeasure with th'Emperor.

After Duke Maurice, lijng long with his siege before Magdenburg [Magdeburg] (which is a citie in Saxonie and holdeth alwais of the Duke that is Elector), had browght it into th'Emperor's subjection, as other cities of Germanie than were, bicause they of the citie wold neyther receave th'Emperor nor his Interim, nor yet Duke Maurice for their lord, Marquess Albert of Brandenburg, the Duke of Mechelburg, and the Lantgrave of Hesse, his sonn, and Duke Maurice with certain other princes of Germanie annexed together, perceaving their kinn and friends in captivitie and Germanie thus daile oppressed and browght from the accustomed libertie into untollerable bondage, laide their heades together and

[1] This book does not appear to have been printed till 1561. The title is as follows: '*The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio*, divided into four bookes, very necessary and profitable for yonge gentilmen and gentilwomen abiding in court, palaice, or place, done into Englyshe by Thomas Hoby. Imprinted at London by William Seres, at the sign of the Hedgehogge. 1551.' There is a letter from Sir John Cheke printed at the end of the book. The original work was *Il Cortegiano*, by Count Baldesar Castiglione, of which the first edition appeared in 1528, printed by Aldo Romano at Venice.

[2] Petrus Galandius (side-note in MS.).

entred into a new confederacie, that like as all this business had bine sturred in Germanie partlie by som of their meanes, so they shuld emong them bee the first to seeke a present remedie for so great an evell before it enlarged anie farther and bredd to a greater scabb. They entred into a new confederacie privilie to forsake th'Emperor and to serve the French King, his ennemie, thinking by that meane to obtain the sooner wherby to maintein their warres and to bring their purpose to passe. The which their device, not long after the towne was yelded and the duke peaceblie entred with good favor, they putt in practice. And as it was divised betwext them Albert went privilie into Fraunce to open this practise of theirs unto the French King, and to persuade him to this kinde of enterprise to aide and sustaine them with his helpe in the same, and to take upon him the stile of the defensor of the libertie of Germanie, promising him to do him good and faithfull service in that quarell against th'Emperor, who sawght nothing but the distruction of all Germanie, and to make this free nation an inheritance to him and to his for ever: offring him sufficient hostages in that behalf.

When the Frenche King perceaved it to bee no lie that they were at defiance with th'Emperor, thinking the sooner to compasse his purpose and ambitious desire (the which for all that he was never the neerer of), [he] gave them verie gentle entertainment with faire woordes, promising them golden mountaynes and (paradventure in hoope of a greate deale to ensue from yt) discoursed somwhat with them. When Albert with speede was returned and had declared how acceptable their service was to the King, who promised them large entertainment to do him service in Germanie, Duke Maurice and the rest with their powres marched towardes Auspurg [Augsburg], where they entred at last before th'Emperor's menn which he had sent thither to defend the towne. And albeit they arrived there before Duke Maurice, yet they of the towne desired them to stay a while withowt the walles untill they of the citie were at a point emong themselves, which was nothing elles but to prolong the time untill Duke Maurice cam (for they had intelligence that he was not farr of), who ymmediatelie after his arrival entred into the citie, and th'Emperor's menn retired backe again as they cam withowt doing anie thing. When he was thus entred he restored the citie to his accustomed libertie again, thrusting owt th doing whatsoever the

Emperor had done in fore time at his being there, and displacing all such as th'Emperor had there putt in authoritie. Th'Emperor was departed from hense to Ynsbrucke when this sturr was in Germanie, entending to go from thense to Trent, where the generall Counsell was appointed to bee held. Before his departure owt of Ausprucke he thowght to make all things sure there, placing such in authoritie within the citie as made most for his purpose, banisshing and exiling the chiefest preachers of the towne, enforcing them to take their othe not to abide within the precint of th'Empire, and leaving there to his thinking sufficient garison.

When Duke Maurice had restored the preachers again (who counsailed him in no wise to dissolve the popish churches sett upp there by the Emperor's commaundment), and made this new alteration in the citie, leaving sufficient power there to the preservation of the same, he went towardes Fietse, a towne of the Cardinall of Auspruck, the which he took ymmediatelie, and the Duke of Mechelburg with him, by whose meanes he wann in a moment a certain sluce of importance within half a league of Fietse, which was upon a rocke in a verie narrow passage. The Emperor lijng in Ynsprucke thowght himself sure inowghe bicause his trust was in that sluce, which was indeed on of the strongest holdes in all Germanie and wonn by a wonderous pollicie. But when he heard it was taken, and hearing the newes of the sodaine approache of the Duke (the which he wold not almost credite before he in a maner sawe it), with all his Cowrt he removed in post hast in the night towardes the Archdukedom, caried in a littar, and never staide before he cam to Villaco, in Carinthia, where he remayned a season.

Duke Maurice cam to Ynspruck, where he touched nothing that belonged not to the Emperor. Withowt the towne on the other side of the river there dwellethe on the hilles side in a faire house a gunnfounder, on of the best in his science of all Christendom, a verie discreate and sober parson. This mann (as he told my brother the tale) had a xx great peecs of artillarie in hand for the Duke of Alava, which he minded to carie into Spaine. Upon these peecs the Duke had cawsed to bee graven the armes of Philipp, Lansgrave of Hess, with his stile, which was the Emperor's prisoner, and all for a certain vain glorie that menn shuld beleave he had gotten them in the feeld by prowess of armes. The Lans-

grave's sonn, who was in Duke Maurice hoost, seeing those peecs there with his father's armes upon them, ceased upon them and tooke them awaye with him, geving to the gunnfounder's wyff an hundrethe crownes to drinke.

Th'Emperor perceaving to what a narrow point he was now driven to, and that withowt a peace made betwext Duke Maurice and him he shuld never be able to cum into anie part of his dominions again, sowght all meanes possible for a peace, and cawsed the King his brother and sundrie others to labour diligentlie in yt. Duke Maurice at lengthe by faire persuasions was overcum and agreede a Diete to bee had at Passa or Bassa, a towne that holdethe of the Duke of Bavire, but it belongeth to the Bishoppe, great frind to the Duke. In this towne at time appointed were assembled on the Emperor's part the King his brother, Maximilian, and the Duke of Bavire, and on the Elector's and other princes' of Germanie's behalf, their debities and Duke Maurice himself. They agreed here and sealed to certain articles bothe for the restoring of the accustomed religion throwghowt Germanie and other kindes of auntient liberties, and also for the reconciling of the Duke and the Marquess unto th'Emperor again, with such as were their confederates. When Marquess Albert heard of this he was sore displeased with Maurice, not so much for that the conditions agreed upon were not large inowghe (for having th'Emperor at this narrow point he might have made him to agree to whatsoever he had listed), as for that Duke Maurice did it upon his owne heade, in the name of the holle Empire, unknowen to him, the which he owght not to have done, considering in what a confederacie they two were annexed together for the libertie of the hole Empire, and indeed hitherto had proceaded jointlie together.

For the Marquess at their departure from Ausprucke did no less good beefore Noremberg, which he entred into at length by composition, then Maurice had done in persuing th'Emperor. Upon this occation he fell owt with Duke Maurice, calling him 'Schelm,' which is a verie reprochfull word in their language, and reviled him with opprobrious woordes, that he wold, so contrarie to his othe and honestie, enterprise such a matter withowt making him privie to yt, which of duty he owght to have done. Wherupon he warned him to provide for him self, for he swore he wold be revenged or it shuld cost him his lyff.

After the peace thus concluded the Marquess thowght Germanie no place for him, but ymmediatlie sett forwardes with his powre towardes Ulm, where he culd not entre, but was kept owt by th'Emperor's menn there within. When he was past all hoope of entrie, he spoiled and rased most part of the countrey abowt. From thense he removed and tooke Spier and Woormes, and the Duke of Mechelberg with him, which was at Franckfurt slaine [1] with a great peece, where he was in like maner kept owt and not suffred to entre but by composition such as he left at the sieg entred. Then he left Germanie and marched towardes Fraunce (taking Trier and Mens in his waye, where he receaved a good portion of treasure), thinking to be greatlie welcummed thither. All this while that Maurice warred thus in Germanie against th'Emperor, the French King was with his powre drawing thitherwardes, and having taken Metz, under the cooler to pass throwghe yt, went towardes Strasburg, thinking to have obtained it by a like pollicie; but he was deceaved, for they wold not suffre him nor anie of his to entre the walles; wherupon he was constrayned to retire again. The peace was not so soone concluded betwext th'Emperor and the Duke, but th'Emperor removed from Villaco and cam to Ausprucke, where he graunted libertie to the Duke of Saxonie and the Landesgrave, his prisoners. And whereas they were under his custodie in former time he in maner now committed him self into their hands. By this breache of Duke Maurice with him he was not onlie disapointed of his purpose in Germanie, but also the wicked Counsell, that he had appointed to have bine held at Trent, where all matters of religion shuld have bine concluded according to his will, was stopped and hindred; for there were alreadie assembled together, besides cardinalls and other prelats, lx bisshoppes, whiche were glad and faine to repaire to their hommes again in hast when they understoode Duke Maurice was so nighe drawing thitherwardes. In Ausburg at the Emperor's return that waye he made som alteration, thowgh not so much as he had done at other times, and displaced certain preachers whiche he had no great fansie to.

From hense he departed, going by Strasburg and gathering on all sides as much powre as he was able to make, towardes the siege

[1] The sentence originally stood thus: 'From thense he removed to Spier, and the Duke of Mechelburg with him, which was there slain,' &c., and has been altered later into that given in the text.

of Metz, where he had assembled lxxx thowsand men.[1] And perceaving how litle he prevailed at the siege eyther by battrie or by assawte, dailie liesing of menn, being in the deepe of wynter, and that a verie sharp winter (for he laye continuallie at yt the space of iij months), he levied his siege and withdrew himself unto the lowe countrey towardes Brusselles.

Marquess Albert continued not a moneth in Fraunce, but he was wearie of the French King's entertainment, and desired nothing so muche as to bee dispatched owt of his service with honestie. For he perceaved verie well what a gelowsie and suspect he was had in, in that he could not onlie not be suffred to entre into the citie of Metz after it was taken, nor yet so muche as to withdraue him self owt of th'armye into anie secrete place withowt great espiall; and sawe before his eyes a manifest prouf of the French King's pretended libertie, which tourned to a private proffitt, keaping the free cities of Germanie in his owne hands with force of armes, abusing their gentlnes under the cloke of the defense of their libertie; and recompensing their true dealing with fraude and treson.

Upon this Albert renounced openlie his entertainment and letted not to declare that he was not a prince of his worde, for he perfourmed not one of those large offres which at the first he made to him, and therfore he entendeth to depart and serve him no longer. The French King answered plainlie he shuld not so depart, wherupon ymmediatlie he sent Mons^r^ Delmal, [D'Aumale] captain of the light horsmen, with Mons^r^ de Rohan to withstand him and to stoppe him the passage.[2]

Albert escaped not withstanding and valiantlie acquited him self in escaping from emong them, for he tooke them bothe prisoners with the loss of vj or vij hundrethe of their menn.

Mons^r^ de Rohan by the reason of a controversie betwext the souldiers that equallie chalenged him, was there slaine by th'on of the two, bicause the other shuld chaleng no part. Mons^r^ Delmal was after a yere raunsomed again for iij score thowsand crownes. After this so luckie a chaunce of Marquess Albert, th'Emperor for all his despleasure he owght him, knowing him to be a good mann of warr, retayned him in his campe, this time of

[1] 'He laid his siege the 22 day of October' (side-note in MS.).

[2] 'The 4 of November' (side-note in MS.).

his necessitie. For whether at his first cumming owt of Fraunce he was desirous of th'Emperor's wages to come to an accorde with him again, or th'Emperor willing to receave his service and desirous of his parson (which seemethe most likelie), he cam to th'Emperor's speache. But first it was indented before he wold cum to that, among other things, and graunted: first, that his late revoking from him with Duke Maurice shuld not bee laide in his dishe as a reproche nor cast in his teethe from thens furthe; again, that he might cum fornisshed into th'Emperor's presence with his menn and all kind of weapons appertayning to a man of warr; morover that he might not come before him like an offender in anie point wherbie he should bee constrayned in capping or kneeling to make anie other a doo then other princs use communlie to do in his presence; also that his Majestie, whereas he had geven to the Bisshoppes of Bamberg and Wurtsburg by the virtue of his lettres patents (for displeasur conceaved against him) free libertie, releasing them of all homage and whatsoever was due unto him, wold (being now reconciled again) graunt him his great seale on the other side to calleng this his right of them again, in as ample maner as ever he hathe done in foretime.

These capitulations and other like were agreede unto, and the Marquess, during the time of this siege and long after, did th'Emperor as worthie and faithfull service as anie noble captain he had in all his hoost.

When the siege was levied Albert thowght it a meete time then to seek all means possible day by day how he might kepe promise with Duke Maurice and be revenged of him, making great sturres in Germanie and gathering a powre to invade upon him. Duke Maurice on the other side levied all such powre as he was able to make to defend himself and joyned with the Bisshoppes of Bamberg and Wurtsberg.

There were manie skirmishes on bothe parts, but in long time the victorie was uncertain. At length after long continuance of warr on both partes, not knowing who shuld have the upper hand nor by anie likelihoode to whether part victorie wold or might encline, being utterlie determined the on to persue the other unto death, Duke Maurice was slaine with an arkebuse in a battell [1] by

[1] 'Duke Maurice slayne the 9 day of July' (a side-note in MS.). The battle took place at Sievershausen, in the Duchy of Lüneburg.

on of Albert's men in the chase (as it was reported for a certaintie), after he had wonn the fielde and slaine and discomfited and hurt iiij thousand of Albert's menn. In this battell was assembled on bothe sides all the poure they were able to make.

It is not withowt susspition that th'Emperor, to kepe these two princes thus at debate, still for feare least they might happen to cum to an accord (which shuld not have bine greatlie to his proffitt), fedd Albert with money largelie, whiche is credible inowghe; and the King of Romanes did the like to Maurice.

This battaile was in the yere of our Lord 1553, abowt the monethe of June.

After Maurice deathe, Friderick Duke of Saxony sent his sonn Jhon William to th'Emperor for restitution of suche possessions as he had taken from him and were given to Maurice with the Electorshipp.

THE NAMES OF THE PRINCS AND NOBLE MENN OF FRAUNCE, WITH THE BANDS OF MENN OF ARMES OF THEIR RETINUE.

They call him a prince in Fraunce that is eyther descended liniallie of the Blood Royall or elles of a free duke, as of the Duke of Savoy, Lorraign, and such other.

PRINCS.

The Daulphinn, the King's eldest sonn. 100 menn of armes. Governar of Normandie.

The Duke of Orleans, his second sonn.

The Duke of Angolesm, his third sonn.

The Duke of Vendosm. 150 menn of armes. Governer of Picardie. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^{r} d'Anguien, his brother. 50 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre.

Loys Mons^{r}, brother to them both. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^{r} de Monpensier. 50 menn at armes, and Knight of th'Ordre.

The Prince of Rochesurian, his brother. 50 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^{r} de Nemours. Knight of th'Ordre, a duke.

Mons^{r} de Nevers. 50 menn at armes. Governer of Champaign and Bryé. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^{r} de Guise. 100 menn at armes. Governer of Savoy and Dauphiné. Knight of th'Ordre, master of the King's game.

Mons^{r} Delmal, his brother. 50 menn at armes. Governor of Burgundie, captain of all the light horsmenn. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^{r} le Gran Prier de France, his brother.

Mons^{r} le Marquis of Beuf, his brother.

Mons^{r} de Longeville. 50 menn at armes. The King's Great Chamberlaine.

Mons^{r} d'Estemps. 50 menn at armes. Governor of Britaign. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^{r} d'Ambugny. 50 menn at armes.

The Prince of Ferrara. 50 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre, son to the Duke of Ferrara.

Great lords of Fraunce.

Mons^{r} de Momorensye. Duke, Constable, and Chief Marshall of Fraunce, Governor of Languedoc. Captain of 100 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^{r} de Sainct Andrea. Marshall of Fraunce, Cheef Gentlman of the King's Privie Chamber. Governer of the countreis of Lyons, Beauger, Burbon forest, and Auvergn. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^{r} de Brisac. Marshall of Fraunce, Master of the King's Hawks, Governor of Piemont. Captain of 100 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^{r} de la March. Marshall of Fraunce. Captain of 100 Swisers archers of the King's Gard. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^{r} de Chastillon. Admerall of Fraunce, Lieutenant for the King in Normandie under the charge of the Daulphine. Captain of 100 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre; Coronell of Fraunce, the whiche office he keapethe for his brother Mons^{r} Dandalot, which is prisoner in Millan.

Mons^{r} di Boycy. Master of the Horse. Captain of 100 gentlmen and of 50 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^{r} de la Rochport. 50 menn at armes. Lieutenant in Picardie under the charge of Mons^{r} de Vendosm. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^{r} de Curton. 50 menn at armes. Knight of the Quene's Honor.

The King of Naverr. 100 menn at armes. Governer of Guyenn. Knight of th'Ordre of Fraunce.

Mons^{r} Durf. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^{r} de James. 50 menn at armes.

Mons^{r} de Lude. 50 menn at armes. Governer of the Rochell, Lieutenant in Guyenn under the charge of the King of Navarr. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^{r} de Maugeron. 50 menn at armes. Lieutenant in Savoy and Daulphinè under the charge of the Duke of Guise. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^{r} de Guiche. 50 menn at armes. Governer of Bresso. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^{r} de Momorency, the Cunstable's sonn. 50 menn at armes. Governer of the Yle of Fraunce.

Mons^{r} de Burn. 50 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^{r} de Villebon. 50 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^{r} Desse. 50 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^{r} de Canaples. Captain of 100 of the King's gentlemen. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^{r} de Creguison the father. 50 menn at armes.

Mons^{r} de Reullerat. 50 menn at armes.

Mons^{r} de Vasse. 50 menn at armes.

Mons^{r} de Termes. 50 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^{r} Visdam de Chartres. 50 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^{r} de Jernac. 50 menn at armes.

Mons^{r} de Humanday. 50 menn at armes. Sonn to Mons^{r} d'Annebalt, admerall, that died.

The Count of Nanteur. 50 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre.

The Count of Tandes, brother to the Cunstable's wyff. 50 menn at armes. Governor of Province. Knight of th'Ordre.

The Count of Villers, his brother. 50 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre. Lieutenant of Languedoc under the Cunstable's charge.

Mons^{r} della Roch du Maine. 50 menn at armes.

Mons^{r} de Larges. Captain of 100 archers Scotts of the King's Gard. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^{r} de Longeval. 50 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre.

The Count Ringrave. Coronell of the Almanes. Knight of the Order.

Mons[r] de Trey. Master of the King's Ordinance. Knight of th'Order.

Of the House of Burbon.

The House Burbon, which hathe in times past bine a part and portion of a sonn of Fraunce, hathe bine dyvided into three parts and Howses: that is to saye, into the House called by name Burbon, principall of th'armes, the which of olde time hathe enjoyed the Dukedom of Burbon. And their mansion place hath ordinarilie bine in the Castle of Molines [Moulins], in Burbonois, in the hie waye to Lions, going from Paris thither.

The second House yssued owt of the House of Burbon is the House of the Lordes of Vendosm, the head wherof is the Duke of Vendosm, which hath maried the King of Navarre's dowghter and onlie heire ([1] by whome he had yssue Henry, nowe Kynge of France and Navarre, 1592).

The third House yssued owt of the House of Burbon is the house of Monpensier, and owt of that cam the Duke of Burbon, which was Constable of Fraunce and died at the sacke of Roome. This Duke had before his departure owt of Fraunce maried the dawghter of Madam de Beauger, syster to King Charles the Eight. This Madam Beauger was married to the Duke of Burbon, which was the chief of the armes of the House of Burbon, and of herr this Duke had no heir male, but onlie a dowghter, which was maried to the late Burbon that was Cunstable, which afterward fled owt of Fraunce after the death of his wyff, under the name of whom he enjoyed during herr lief the dutchie of Burbon, bicause his said wyff was the onlie dawghter of the head of th'armes of Burbon.

As towching the House of Vendosm, owt of yt yssued the late Duke of Vendosm, Knight of th'Ordre and Governer of Picardie (as at this present is his sonn), who died at Amiens retourning from the campe at Hesdin, which had to his brethren the Cardinall of Burbon and the Erle of Saint Pole, who had to their syster the old Dutchesse of Guise. Their father died a yong mann, who had married the Ladie Mary of Luxemburg, Countess

[1] Inserted in the text later.

of Saint Pole and Anguien, and ladie of manie lordshippes in Flaunders, Arthois and Henalt.

Of the State of Millane.

Concerning the controversie abowt the state of Millan: yt is to be understood that Jhon Galeatso, Duke of Millan in the time of King Charles the Sixt, maried, in Fraunce, a dowghter of his to the Duke of Orleans, which dowghter was his onlie lawfull heir.

It is true that herr father had in deede a bastard dowghter, which was maried to a captain, a lieutenant of his, called Sforzia, which after the death of his wyve's father (being then in those parties) placed himself in the Dukedom of Millan, setting the Duke of Orleans cleane beside it, which had maried the true and lawfull dowghter of the said Duke Galeatso.

Of this dawghter of Millan yssued the father of King Lewes the XII., and by his mother's side Millan appertayned to him. Wherupon this Lewis, being his sonn, made warr for the said Dutchie of Millan before he was king, the which he enjoyed as much before as he did after he was king. He left of him onlie two dawghters. The eldest was maried to the last King, Frauncs, and was mother to the King that now raignethe, who claymethe a title to the said Dutchie of Millan by succession on the mother's side, which was eldest dawghter to the said Lewes the XIIth, whose father cam of the dawghter of Millan. The other dawghter of King Lewes the XII. was marid to the Duke of Ferrara, and is mother to the Dutchess of Guise.

Of the State of Savoy.

Concerning Savoy and Piemont the King claymethe the Dutchie of Savoye, first because his father's mother was elder syster to the Duke of Savoye, the which countrey is not under the law salike, but wemen in their inheritance succede before the menn in case they be elder thin the menn, as the cronicles witnesse.

Secondarilie, the King saith his father claymethe the succession of his mother, who for all she was eldest child yet had she not a foote of ground of that herr heritage.

Thirdlie, the King as tutor to Mons[r] de Nemours' children, who was brother to the late King Frauncs' mother and to the Duke of Savoy, requireth that the children may be better loked to and recompensed, alleaging that the part or portion that was geven their father is nothing reasonable.

Furthermore, as towching the countrey of Piemont, the king saith that King René of Anger [Anjou], Erle of Province, did but laye in mortgage for a certain time for a sum of money lent to him upon it to make a journey to Naples. And the cronicles themselves make mention that Piemont and the countie of Nice, laid in gage for the said money, have alwais bine in the patrimonie of Province, which was geven to King Lewes the XI[th] and other kings his successors. Wherupon the French kings as erles of Province have come by these countreys of Piemont and Nice, and such as injoye these countreys are their vassalls. And the Duke of Savoy nor his sonn hathe not bine willing to conquerr them again.

Of the State of Lorraign.

Concerning the House of Lorraign ye must understand it is descended from Godfray de Bullion, that conquered the realm of Jherusalem.

This House hathe bine aliede as well to the Howses of Fraunce, England, and Austriche as to the House of Anger. They have injoyed Province, Piemont, and th'erldom of Nice. And the House of Savoy hathe not to do with Piemont but onlie for lending of money to King René of Anger, who borowed it to drive owt the Arragonese owt of his kingdommes of Naples and Sicilia.

Of the Howses of Anger and Lorraign restethe onlie heyre René of Lorraign,[1] father unto the late Anthonye of Lorraign, and Lion after the deathe of his father Claudius of Lorraign, which was called by the name of Guise.

Jhon of Lorraign, which was called Cardinall of Lorraign, great frend to the late King Frauncs. Lewes of Lorraign, which was Count of Vaudemont and was poysoned at Naples with Mons[r] de

[1] 'This René of Lorraign slue Charles, Duke of Burgoign, in the battell of Nancy' (side-note in MS.).

Lautrec, and Fraunes of Lorraign, that died at the battaile of Pavia.

Anthonye of Lorraign, that was Duke of the countrey and chief of the armes, maried the syster of the Duke of Burbon that fledd owt of Fraunce, and had by herr Fraunes of Lorraign, father to the yong Duke of Lorraign, Count of Vaudemont.

The maner of Fraunce is that after the descease of the father, his landes and gooddes are equallye dyvided unto his children: the stile and title of honor (yf it bee a prince or a mann of honor) onlie reserved to the eldest sonn, with a litle peece of land besides the siniorye for superioritie's sake, called in French 'vole de chappon': that is to say, as muche as a capon is able to flee at a flight, which is a verie small matter. And so much hathe the elder brother now then the yonger brethren.

1553.

At the beginning of this yere Sir Henry Sidnay cam to the Frenche Cowrt (being than in the citie of Paris at the Lover) [Louvre], sent by the King and his counsell to move a peace betwext him and th'Emperor, and to th'Emperor's Court for the like entent was sent Sir Andrew Dudleye. And after his answere geven him he retourned again into England withowt having done anie thing in the matter.

The xiiijth of Februarij Duke Horatio Farnese was maried to the French King's bastard dowghter, which was a verie honorable and solemn mariage. The feast was kept in the house of Burbon, not farr from the Lover, in the which was a great halle hanged with faire tapistrie, upon the whiche were sett uppe sundrie scuttchions of the armes of Fraunce, Orleans, Farnese, and Urbin; and emong them were certain tables with these inscriptions in them in grete letters:—

At the entring into the hall doore:

'Ad thalamos etiam Charites venere Diane.
Cur? Quia quicquid agit Gratia semper adest.'

On the right side :

Christianiss.
Franco Regi,
Henrico II Ita
lico Germanico
Britannico.

Ob res in
Italia, Germania
et Britannia
fortiter ac fœ
liciter gestas.

On the left side :

Restituta
Repûb. Senensi
et protectis cis
Padum Alba, Qui
ritio universaque
ad rad. Alpium
Regione.

Liberatis
obsid. Medioma
tricibus, Parma
Mirandula.

At the upper end of the hall :

Compositis
Britanniæ
ulterioris reb.
Recepta Mori
norum Bononia
oppidisque finiti
mis ; deinde He
dinio.

Propagato ad
Rhenum Im
perio, adiectisque
ditioni suæ
Mosæ ac Mosellæ
accolis.

At the lower end of the hall :

Assertis
in libertatem
principibus Saxo
num Hessorum
atque Sacri
Imperii
urbib.

At this mariage besides the King and the Quene and the Ladie Margaret, the King's syster, there were that were latlie com from the defense of Metz bothe princs and other lords, as the Duke of Guise and Marquess of Beef, his brother, Mons^r^ d'Anguien, Loys Mons^r^ his brother, Mons^r^ de Nevers, Mons^r^ de Namours, Mons^r^ d'Ambugny, also the Cardinall of Roane, the Prince of Ferrara,

the Cardinall of Lorraign, the Bisshoppe of Alby, the Grand Prior of Fraunce, the Duke of Guise brethren, the Constable, Cardinall Belly, Cardinall Chastillon, Cardinall Farnese, Duke Horatio, his brother, Mons[r] Chastillon admerall, Mons[r] Visdam, Mons[r] de Trey, the Ambassador of England, Claudio Tolomei that was sent from the commune weale of Siena to thanke the French King for their deliverance owt of the hands of the Spaniards, and sundrie other noble menn and great ladies.

After I had taried in Fraunce the space of ix monthes and settled my self to my studie, I receaved letters from my brother to repaire ymmediatlie upon the sight therof unto him, being appointed with my lord the Bisshopp of Norwiche [1] commissioner and ambassador towardes th'Emperor on the King's Majesty's behalf.

And as they went into Flaunders so there cam into Fraunce Doctor Wotton [2] and Sir Thomas Chaloner,[3] to entreate a peace betwext these two princes, where they laboured a long time withowt anie good doing in that behalf on eyther partie.

My journey owt of Fraunce to th'Emperor's Cowrt.

Ymmediatlie upon the receipt of my letters from my brother I departed owt of Paris, thinking to meete with him at Calice; the xiiij of Aprill I sett forwards as foloweth:

)	From Paris to Pontois	. . . . .		vj[le]
)	From thense to Manny [Magny]	. . .		vij[le]
)	,, ,, ,, Cuy [Ecouis]	. . .		viij[le]
θ	,, ,, ,, Roane	. . . . .		vij[le]
)	,, ,, ,, Boucere [Buchy]	. . .		vii[le]
)	,, ,, ,, Blangye	. . . .		ix[le]
θ	,, ,, ,, Abvile	. . . . .		vj[le]
ϑ	,, ,, ,, Monterolle	. . . .		x[le]
ϑ	,, ,, ,, Calaice	. . . . .		xiiij[le]
θ	,, ,, ,, Bruges	. . . . .		xviij[le]
θ	,, ,, ,, Bruxelles	. . . .		xviij[le]

[1] Bishop of Norwich, Thos. Thirlby.

[2] Dr. Nicholas Wotton (1497–1567), Dean of Canterbury and York; one of the ablest and most experienced of Tudor diplomatists. His dexterity and wisdom secured him the confidence of four successive sovereigns. (*D.N.B.*)

[3] Sir Thos. Chaloner, Clerk to Privy Council of Henry VIII., afterwards Ambassador to Court of Spain. (*D.N.B.*)

Here I arrived the xxiij of Aprill.

I found my Lord of Norwiche, my brother, and Sir Richard Morisin[1] here, newlie settled together, attending for audience with th'Emperor, whose astate was so uncertainlie spoken of abroode that no man could for a great space gather by anie meanes the truthe in what case he was. For not a fewe thowght plainlie by sundrie probable imaginations that he was dead. Manie beleaved he was owt of his right witts and that his senses failed him. Sum affirmed (as it was indede) that by the continuance of his infirmitie, encreasing rather dailie upon him then diminsshing, he was browght in such case not able to be spoken withall. At lengthe, I being appointed to sollicite the matter with the Bisshoppe of Arras for them all, they had verie favorable audience the viij of June, contrarie to all menne's expectation, which thowght him not in case able to attend to audience. He was indede verie feeble of his bodie and pale of his face; sitting in a chaier, laijng his feet uppon an other lesser abowt a foote or more from the grownd. He declared him self verie reformabl and flexible to this the King's Majesty's most godlie entent, but the French demaunds werr so farr owt of the way and so unreasonable that he could not of his honor condescend to a peace.

Cardinall Dandino arrived in Brusselles the xv of Maij, legate from the Pope for the verie same effect and purpose, which had his audience the daye after owr commissioners. And as he cam to the Emperor, so Cardinall Capo de Ferro was sent into Fraunce.

Abowt this time was Tournane [Térouenne] and Hesdin taken by the Emperor's armie, wherein were manie noblemen and gentlmen of Fraunce, and especiallie in Hesdin, where Duke Horatio, that had this yere maried the King's dawghter, and the Duke of Bullion with dyverse other were slaine, to the no small discomfiture of the French partie.

The vth of July the Prince of Piemont departed owt of Brusselles towardes the campe as generall over th'Emperor's armye, with whom went Mr. Willam Pelham, who was retayned in wages by the ladie Regent, and did him great good service in his campe, my brother being a suter unto him for him.

At this season was Montalcino beseaged by th'Emperor's armie

[1] Sir Rich. Morysin or Morison, son of Thos. Morison, of Herts, Ambassador to Hanse Towns in 1546; of Calvinistic views; died in Strasburg 1558. (*D.N.B.*)

in Italie, Don Pietro di Toledo, vicere of Naples, being generall. The towne was marvellouslie defended by the French partie, captain wherof was Ascanio della Corna, who chaunced afterward to be taken in those parties prisoner, and was committed to the galies. Don Pietro died there, and Don Garzia, his sonn, succeaded him in his charge.

Newes cam to the Cowrt of the great battell betwext Duke Maurice and Marquess Albert, which encreased joye on all sides.

The xith of July there arrived in Brusselles Sommersett, heralt at armes, with the heavie newes of the King's deathe, who died upon Thursday, the vi of this monethe.[1]

And the xvj of the same the commissioners had audience with th'Emperor in morning apparelle, unto whom they declared these heavie newes, according to the tenor of their letters from the Counsell.

The xixth July th'Emperor sent for the commissioners, declaring unto them that he understoode they went abowt in England to dispossess the Ladie Marie, his kinswoman, of the realm, to whom it belonged after the descease of the King. And sith she was made heire apparant unto the King bothe by the will of herr father and also by Act of Parlement, they shuld not deprive herr of this herr right by the private affection of a fewe parsonnes, and without just cause whie. Wherupon he demaunded of them what shuld be th'occation of it and upon what consideration it was done. Wherunto they answered the matter was unknowen to them, and the occation whie it shuld so bee. Notwithstanding there was at their cumming furthe of their doores towardes his Majesty a gentlman arrived in post owt of England which may chaunce to have browght with him in his letters from the Counsell somewhat where bye to answere his Majesty in that behalf, the whiche for lacke of time they had not as then looked upon. And thus they departed.

Mr. Shelley[2] taried abowt a ix or x daies for audience with th'Emperor on the Ladie Jane's behalf, which before his setting furthe of England was proclamed Quene. But after he understood for certaintie that the Ladie Mary had obtayned herr right

[1] 'K. Edw. 6 his death' (side-note in MS.).

[2] Sir Richard Shelley was the last Grand Prior of the Knights of St. John in England. He was a great traveller and was employed in many diplomatic missions. (*D.N.B.*)

and was proclaimed Quene of England, he departed again withowt eyther delivering of his letters of credence or speaking with the Emperor according to his commission.

Upon Friday, the xviijth of August, my Lord Warden, Sir Thos. Cheyney,[1] arrived in Brusselles, accompanied with Sir Anthonie Browne,[2] Sir Jhon Parat, Mr. Crippes, Mr. Henry Poole, Mr. Harvie, Mr. William Thomas, which was with us before, and went into England to tarie a space there, and Mr. Norrye, heralt at armes. Uppon Sonday folowing he and the rest of the commissioners had audience with th'Emperor.

Wheras it was appointed in the King's dayes that my brother shuld have succeeded Mr. Morisin in his room to have bine resident with th'Emperor, it was now the Quene's pleaser to have the Bisshoppe of Norwich tarie there. And likewise Dr. Wotton in Fraunce, to succeade Sir William Pickering for Mr. Chaloner.

The xxiiijth of August the Quene of Hungary, regent of Flaunders, made unto my Lord Warden and the rest of the commissioners a sumptious and costlie diner; and ij dayes after they departed with all their companie towardes England, leaving the Bisshoppe of Norwiche behind with th'Emperor. The iij^{d} ot September we arrived at the Court in Richmont, the which daye being Sondaye the Lord Cowrtney, latlie before delyvered owt of the towre, was created Erle of Devonshire, being ledd betwext the Erle of Arundle, Lord Steward of the Quene's house, and the Erle of Shrewesberye.

Here spake they with the Quene's Majesty, shewing herr their rewardes geven them by th'Emperor. The Lord Warden a cheine of ij^{m} crownes, my brother and Sir Richard Morisin two chaynes of on thowsand crownes the peece.

Uppon Sonday the first daye of Octobre was herr Grace crowned solemplie in Westminster Churche by the Bisshoppe of Wynchester, latlie before delyvered owt of the towre, with th'assistance of all the nobilitie of the realm, which sware fealtie and homage unto herr Majesty, everie noblemann in his degree, beginning at the Bisshoppe of Winchester and the Duke of Norfolke and ending at the Lord Pagett, then yongest baronn.

[1] Sir Thos. Cheyney, Lord Warden 1513. Treasurer of the Household. Of Shurland, Isle of Sheppey. His tomb is in Minster Church; *ob.* 1559.

[2] Sir Ant. Browne, created Lord Montagu 1554; a staunch Roman Catholic. (*D.N.B.*)

At this coronation were manie bisshoppes, the most part of them restored verie latlie to their bisshoppricks again; and also a great companie of noble wemen, as the Ladie Elizabeth, the Ladie Ann of Cleve, the Dutchess of Norffolk, the Marquess of Exeter, the Marquess of Winchester, and almost all other countesses and noble menne's wyves of the realm, with a number of knights' wyves.

The coronation Mass and other ceremonies endured from x a'clocke in the morning untill iij and past in the afternoone.

This yere were condemned and suffred death[1] the Duke of Northumberland, Sir Jhon Gats, Sir Thomas Palmer; and arraigned and condemned the Lord Marquess of Northampton, the Duk's fyve sonnes, the Bisshopp of Canterburye, the Ladie Jane, Sir Androw Dudley, and Sir Henry Gats.

1554.

The example of constancie and verie mirrour of true magnanimitie in these owr daies to all princs,[2] died this yere Jhon Fridericke, Duke of Saxonie, a mann for his singular virtues, faithfull meaning, and true dealing with all menn, no less praysed emong his ennemies than his lyff missed emong his frendes, and lamented of bothe. And such a on as with stowtnes of mind alwais prefarred an uncorrupt and stedfast lyving before the continuall threatenings of a shamefull death, whiche he was manie times nige unto. So that neyther threatnings nor faire promises of libertie or great worldlie siniories were of anie force at all to make his mind and conscience to annye manne's appetite or desire flexible or easie to be entreated.

My brother was this yere commaunded to make himself readie to goo in commission with the Erle of Bedfort to conduct the Prince of Spaine into England; but that determination of the Quene's and the Counsell's of this jorney of his was no more spoken of after Sir Thomas Wiatt was onse uppe in Kent, who at Temple Barr yelded himself to Sir Morice Barklet uppon Ash Wenesday, and afterward[3] he, the Duke of Suffolke, the Lord Thomas his brother, the Lord Gylford, and the Ladie Jane lost their heads.

[1] A side-note here gives the day of the month, '22 August.'

[2] A side-note in the MS. adds the day of the month as '3 Martii.'

[3] '21 Februar.' (a side-note in MS.).

Hanged and quartered, Sir Henry Isley,[1] Mr. William Thomas, two Knevetts, two Mantelles, Brett, and manie moo, with sundrie other condempned for this conspiracie of Wiatt's; my Ladie Elizabethe, the Erle of Devonshire, and certain others committed to the Towre that cam not to be arraygned.

During the time of the Ladie Jane's imprisonnement in the Towre there visited herr manie times Fecknam, with sundrie other, to convert herr to the faithe of the Catholike Churche, bourding[2] herr to renounce herr true and Christian faithe. And emong other times they had this communication together, written and penned with her owne hand:—

A Dialogue of the Communication betwext the Ladie Jane Duddley and Mr. Fecknam.[3]

'Feck. What thing is required in a Christian?

'Jane. To beleave in God the Father, in God the Sonn, and in God the Holie Ghost, iij parsonnes and on God.

'Feck. Is there nothing elles required in a Christian but to beleave in God?

'Jane. Yes: we must beleave in Him, we must love Him with all owr sowle and all owr mind, and owr neighbor as owr self.

'Feck. Whye then faith onlie justifiethe not nor savethe not?

'Jane. Yes, verilie; faith (as St. Paule saith) onlie justifiethe.

'Feck. Why St. Paul saith that yf I have all faith withowt love it is nothing.

'Jane. True it is. For how cann I love him in whom I trust not, or how cann I trust in him whom I love not? Faith and love goo bothe together, and yet love is comprehended in faith.

'Feck. How shall we love owr neighbowr?

'Jane. To love owr neighbor is to feade the hungrie, clothe the naked, and give drinke to the thirstie, and to do to him as we wold to owr selves.

'Feck. Whie then it is necessarie unto salvation to do good works also, and it is not sufficient onlie to beleave?

[1] Sir H. Isley, of Sundridge and Farningham, co. Kent (*Arch. Cant.* iii.).

[2] 'Bourding.' To bourd, to say things mockingly (Murray).

[3] This dialogue between Lady Jane and Fecknam has been printed by Foxe in his *Acts and Monuments*. I have noted where there is any material difference between the two versions.

'JANE. I denie that, and I affirm that faith onlie saveth; but it is meete for a Christian in token that he folowethe his Master Christ to do good works; yet we may not say that they proffitt unto salvation, for when we have all done we be unproffitable servants, and the faith onlie in Christe's Bloode saveth.

'FECK. How manie sacraments bee there?

'JANE. Two, the on of the sacrament of Baptism and the other of the Lorde's Supper.

'FECK. No, there be seven.

'JANE. By what Scripture find yow that?

'FECK. Well, we will talke therof hereafter. But what is the signification of your ij sacraments?

'JANE. By the sacrament of Baptism I am wasshed with water and regenerated by the Spirit, and that wasshing is a token to me that I am the child of God. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper is offred unto me as a sure seale and testimonie that I am by the Blood of Christ, which He shed for me on the Cross, made partaker of the everlasting kingdom.

'FECK. Whie, what do yow receave in that Supper? Do ye not receave the verie Bodie and Blood of Christ?

'JANE. No, verilie I do not beleave so. I think that at that supper I receave neyther fleshe nor blood, but onlie bread and wine. The which bread when it is broken and the wine when it is drunken puttethe me in mind how that for my sinnes the bodie of Christ was broken and His Blood shed on the Cross, and with that bread and wine I receave the benefitts that com by the breaking of his bodie and the shedding of His blood on the Cross for my sinnes.

'FECK. Whie dothe Christ speake these woordes, "Take, eate: this is My Bodie"? Require we anie plainer woordes? Dothe not He say that is His Bodie?

'JANE. I graunt He saith so. And so he saith, "I am the vine," and, "I am the dore." But is He ever the more for that the dore or a vine? Doth not St. Paul say that he callethe those things that are not as thowghe they were? God forbid that I shuld say that I eate the verie naturall Bodie and Blood of Christ. For then eyther I shuld plucke awaye my redemption, eyther elles there were ij bodies, or ij Christes, or elles xij bodies.[1] On bodie was

[1] 'Or elles xij bodies.' These words do not appear in Foxe's rendering.

tourmented uppon the Cross, and then yf they did eate an other, than eyther He had ij bodies, eyther elles, yf His Bodie were eaten, it was not broken uppon the Cross. Or elles yf His Bodie were broken uppon the Cross it was not eaten of His disciples.

'FECK. Whie is it not as possible that Christ by His power could make His Bodie bothe to be eaten and broken, as to bee born of a woman withowt the seede of man, and as to walke uppon the sees having a bodie, and other such like miracles as He wrought by His power onlie?

'JANE. Yes, verilie, yf God wold have done at His Supper a miracle He might have doone so. But I say that then He minded to worke no miracle, but onlie to breake His Bodie and shed His Blood on the Cross for our sinnes. But I pray yow answere me this on question. Where was Christ whan He said, "Take, eate: this is My Bodie"? Was He not at the table when He said so? He was at that time alive, and suffrid not untill the next daie. Well, what tooke He but bread? what breake He but bread? and what gave He but bread? Looke, what He tooke He brake; and looke, what He brake He gave; and looke, what He gave they did eate. And yet all this while He Himself was at supper before His disciples, or elles they were desceaved.

'FECK. Yow ground your faith uppon such authores as saye and unsay both with a breth, and not uppon the Churche to whom you owght to geve credit.

'JANE. No, I ground my faith uppon Godde's woord and not uppon the Churche. For yf the Church be a good Churche the faith of the Church must be tried by Godde's woord, and not Godde's woord by the Churche [1] bicause of antiquitie. Or shall I geve credit to the Church that taketh awaye from me the half part of the Lorde's Supper and will not lett no lay mann receave it in bothe kindes [2] but themselves? Which thing yf they denie to us they denie part of owr salvation. And I say that is an yll churche and not the spouse of Christ, but the spouse of the Devell. Yt alterethe the Lord's Supper and bothe takethe from yt and addeth to yt. To that Churche I say God will add plagues, and from that Churche will He take part owt of the booke of lief. Do

[1] Foxe has here after the word Church, 'either yet my fayth, shall I beleave the church bicause of Antiquitie.'

[2] Foxe omits 'but themselves.'

they learn that of St. Paul, when he ministred it to the Corinthians in bothe kindes? Shall I beleave that Church? God forbedd.

'FECK. That was done of a good entent of the Churche to avoid an heresie that sprong of yt.

'JANE. Whie shall the Churche altre Godde's Will and ordinance for a good entent? How did King Saule? The Lord defend.

'With these and such like persuasions he wold have me to have leaned to the Churche. But it wold not bee. There were manie mo things wherof we reasoned, but these bee the chief.

'JANE DUDDLEY.'

AN EXHORTATION WRITTEN BY THE LADYE JANE THE NIGHT BEFORE SHE SUFFERED, IN THE LATTER END OF A GREAT TESTAMENT SENT FOR A TOKEN TO THE LADIE CATHARINE HER SYSTER.[1]

'I have here sent yow, good syster Catharin, a booke, which althowghe it bee not owtwardlie trymmed with gold, yet inwardlie it is more woorthye then precious stones. It is the booke, deere systir, of the lawe of the Lord. It is His Testament and last will which He bequethed to us wretches, which shall leade yow to[2] an ymmortall and everlasting lief. Yt will teach yow to live, and learn yow to die. Yt shall wynn yow more than yow shuld have gayned by the possession of your wofull father's landes. For as yf God had prospered him yow shuld have enhereted his landes. So yf yow applie diligentlie this booke, seeking to direct your lief after it, yow shall be an enhereter of such richess as neyther the covetous shall withdrawe from yow neyther the theves shall steale, neyther yet moothes corrupt. Desire with David, good syster, to understand the lawe of the Lord your God. Lyve still to die, that yow by death may purchase eternall lief. And trust not that the tendernes of your age shall lengthen your lief. For assone (yf

[1] This is also printed by Foxe in his *Acts and Monuments*.

[2] According to Foxe there should be an insertion here, viz. 'the path of eternal joy; and if you with a good mynde read it and with an earnest mynde do purpose it it shall bring you to.'

God call) goith the yong as the old. Labor alwais to learn to die. Defie the world. Denie the Devell and despise the flesh, and delite yourself onlie in the Lord. Bee penitent for your sinnes and yet desparre not. Be strong in faith and yet presume not. And desire with St. Poul to be dissolved and to be with Christ, with whom even in death there is lief. Be like the good servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest when death commethe and stealethe uppon yow like a thief in the night yow be with the evell servaunt found asleepe, and leaste for lacke of oyle yow be found like to the five foolish women, and like him that had not on the wedding garment, and than yow be cast owt from the mariage.

'Rejoice in Christ, as I trust I do; and seing yow have the name of a Christian as nere as yow can follow the steppes[1] of your Master Christ, and take upp your Cross. Laye your sinnes uppon His backe, and alwais imbrace Him. And as towching my death, rejoice, as I do, good syster, that I shall be delivered of this corruption and put on incorruption. For I am assured that I shall for losing of a mortall lief wynn an immortall lief, the whiche I pray God graunt yow and send yow of His grace to live in His feare, and to die in the true Christian faith; from the which in Godde's name I exhort yow that yow never swarve, neyther for hoope of lief nor for feare of death; for yf yow will denie His truthe to lengthen your lief, God will denie yow and yet shorten your dayes. But if you will cleave to Him He will prolong your dayes to your comfort and His glory, to the which glory God bring me now, and yow herafter, when it shall please God to call yow. Fare well, good syster, and put your onlie trust in God, who only must help yow.

'Your loving syster, JANE DUDDLEY.'

THE WOORDES OF THE LADIE JANE TO THE PEOPLE IN THE TOWRE BEFORE SHE SUFFRID.

'Good Christian people, I am under a law, and am condempened by a lawe, wherfor I am com hither for to die, desiring yow all to pray for me. And I take God to witness that I never offended the Quene's Majesty willinglie, but onlie in taking uppon me this

[1] In Foxe's version this sentence runs, 'Rejoice in Christ, as I do; follow the steppes,' &c.

thing, the which I was compelled to against my will, and here I washe my hands of my innocencie, desiring yow all to wittniss with me. But I have offended God dyvers and manie wayes in breking His will and commaundments, seeking more the pleasure of this woorlde then the following of Godde's commaundment, wherfor God hathe striken me with this plague for my unthankfullnes towardes His Majestie. But now I am hartelie sorie for my misdeades, beseaching Almightie God to take me unto His mercie, and bring me furth of this wretched lief unto the joyes everlasting of heaven.' And the people said, 'Amen.'

'Good Christian people, I besech you beare me wittness that I die a true Christian in the faith of Jesus Christ, geving Him most hartie thanks that it hath pleased Him to lett me have time to repent me of my former lief, trusting to be saved by the Blood of Christ.' So she desired the people to pray for herr, and said the psalm of Miserere. And when her head was on the blocke she said, 'Lord receave my soule into Thy hands,' taking her death most humblie, like unto a lambe.

She died the 12th of February, and likewise the Lord Guilford.

My brother, disapointed of this his journey into Spaine with the Erle of Bedford, by long sute bothe unto the Quene's Majesty and the Counsell, obtayned license to go visitt the baynes of by yond the sees, for the better recoverie of a certain old disease of his, the which he was licensed to do by the King's Majesty, being yet alive when he was last Ambassador with th'Emperor, and by the reason he was prevented by deathe, could not enjoye the same for that he was called home again shortlie after.

And after he had settled all things at home as he thowght best he appointed owt a certain numbre of his familie to accompanie and to waite upon him in this his journey. This done and his leave taken of the Quene's Majesty, part of us sett forwardes owt of London, the xxi of May, towardes Calice, there to abide and tarie his cumming. And then the vth of June, after great entertainment with the Lord Wentworthe, Lord Deputie there, and the Lord Gray, we departed owt of Calice as foloweth.

My Brother's journey into Italy.

♃ From Calice to Gravelings, Angel . . . iij^{le}

Hitherto did Sir Anthony Aucher, Knight Marshall of Calice, accompanie my brother, with Mr. Richard Blount, Master of th'Ordinance, and dined together in th'Englishe Sluce.[1]

♃	1	From thense to		Dunkirke, Cross Kays	iij^{le}
♃	2	,,	,,	,, Newport French Crowne	v^{le}
)		,,	,,	,, Oldenburg	iiij^{le}
☌	3	,,	,,	,, Brugis, Golden Heade	iij^{le}
)		,,	,,	,, Eclowe	v^{le}
☐	4	,,	,,	,, Caulue	iiij^{le}
)		,,	,,	,, Stekin	ij^{le}
♃ ☍	5	,,	,,	,, Antwerpe, English house	v^{le}

Here my brother taried iij dayes to dispatch certain busnes of his. Hitherto cam with us in our wagon Mr. Charles Morisin and Mr. Darell. From hense we departed towardes th'Emperor's Cowrt to Brussells.

☌ 6 From thense to Maklines, at the Kettle . iiij^{le}

In this towne is all the munition and artillarie of the Lowe Countreye.

) From thense to Vilfort [Vilvorde] . . . ij^{le}

Here is a strong castle wherin the Landesgrave of Hess lay so long prisoner.

24 ☌ 7 From thense to Brusselles, at the Wolf . ij^{le}

We arrived here the xiijth of June, wher my brother lay with Sir John Mason, Lord Ambassador.

The iiijth of July, by th'Emperor's appointment, my brother had audience with the Lady Regent, his syster, which was very benign and gentle, and delivered unto herr the Quene's Majesty's letters

[1] This word is used several times by Hoby to mean a castle or fortified place, as 'Schloss' in German.

of credence unto th'Emperor, who was in that case himself by the reason both of sundrie waightie affaires as well for the setting furthe of his army royall (of the which he made the Duke of Savoy, Prince of Piemont, his generall) as for th'establishing of other matters at home, for th'assistance of the comunes in the same in graunting of subsidies, and also of his long sicknes, which had now browght him verie lowe, that he had no convenient time to speake with him in parson, as his Majestie was onse determined.

Within three dayes after my brother had audience his Majestie removed owt of Brusselles in a littar towardes Namours, where his armye was, the French King's power lijng not farr of, which abowt Midsommer had taken there uppon the frontiers the strong towne of Maryburg, built by the Regent herr self and so named after herr owne name, and the towne of Dinant, and at length the Castle of Dinant, after vii assawtes geven to yt.

Here was now in the Cowrt Don Ferrante Gonzaga, latlie com from Millan, and Don Garzia, Don Ferrante della Noia, with diverse other noble men.

After Duke Maurice death, which tooke uppon him the defense of the bisshoppes (that Marquess Albert persued to obtain his right of them) during this quarell betwext them, the Duke of Brunswike supplied Duke Maurice rowm, and was so aided by the bisshoppes and by the citie of Norenberg that manie times he had the better hand of him, and in a conflict now latlie he gave him a great overthrowe and wonn by force of armes all his townes, castles, and strong holdes, and browght him in that case that he is not able to gather anie power again. And in the later end of July he returned to the service of the French King again, accompanied with xxx horses.

When my brother had taken his leave of the Bisshoppe of Arras, who lovinglie embraced him, and had visited Cardinall Poole, then lying there as legat from the Pope with a commission to entreate of peace betwext these Princs, who entertayned him verie gentle, we departed the viijth of July owt of Brusselles, accompanied as far as Lovain with Sir Thomas Chamberlain.[1]

θ 8	From Brussells to Lovane, Looking-Glass .	iiij^{le}
$\ni$	From thense to Tyne [Tirlmont–Thienen] .	iij^{le}

[1] Sir Thos. Chamberlain had been ambassador to the Low Countries for Ed. VI., and was ambassador to Spain in Queen Elizabeth's time. (*D.N.B.*)

ϑ From thense to Bruchsall . . . . iij^{le}
) 19 „ „ „ Bretten, Crowne . . . j^{le}

This towne belongethe to the Pfalsgrave of the Rhyne; within it was born Mr. Philipp Melanchton,[1] the great and prudent clerke.

) From thense to Vayhinghenn, Crowne . . ij^{le} long.

Here beginnethe the Duke of Wyrtenberge's lands. This is a pretie towne standing uppon the ryver of Entz, and above yt is a castle wherin lay in garison iij hundrethe Spaniardes after the warr of Germany was ended to helpe to kepe the countrey in subjection; but when Duke Maurice rose in th'Empire against the Emperor he voided all his dukedom of Spaniardes which th'Emperor had in the old Duke his father's dayes planted in everie castle and strongholde abowt the land.

) From thense to Magranige [Markgröningen] . j^{le}

Somwhat owt of the hie waye. Not farr from this towne there is a verie strong castle of the Duk's, called Asberg [Asperg], in the which were v hundrethe Spaniardes in garison.

1) 20 From thense to Canstat, Crowne . . . vj^{le}

This towne standethe uppon the river of Necker, by the which groweth the good Necker wines. Here is a new sect of heretieques, called Zwingfeldiani, which contemn all the sacraments. They gather together manie times in corners, and will in no wise be browght to communicate with other men. They hold opinion that the administration of sacraments is not available, but that menn may better a great deale receave them in faith than owtwardlie, and diverse other opinions which are to long to recite. A gentlman called Zwyngfeldus was the author of this sect among them, yet alive and wandring abrode in the woorld. Most of the chief menn of the towne be corrupt with yt. Within half a league of this towne standethe uppon the toppe of an hill, not farr owt of the hie way, the auntient house of Wyrtenberg, like a bewtifull castle to behold afar of, wherby all the holle land of Wyrtenberg takethe his name. Yt is much in decaye; the occasion thereof

[1] Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560), a friend of Erasmus and a reformer of moderate views.

(they saye) is bicause it standethe to hie to be inhabited. Yt hathe the goodlie prospect of a faire and plentifull countreye all abowt yt.

Litle more than half a league owt of this towne is Stuccardia [Stuttgart],[1] the chief citie in the Duke's land, where he liethe most communlie himself, and a three leagues owt of the towne is a famous universitie of the Duk's called Tubinga, where emong other learned menn are Gribaldo, and Virgerius, that was Bisshoppe of Capo d'Histria, verie famous in all Italye.

θ From Canstat to Eslingen . . . . j^le

This, emong other, is also a free citie and holdethe of th'Empire, and by it runnethe the river of Necker. Yt standethe within the precinct of the Duke of Wyrtenberge's dominion, and (as som say) have in times past bowght their freedom of the Duke. Within this citie are two famous men, learned preachers of the Gosspell, M. Rauberus Bonaventura and Gallus Hartman.

These bee most of the free cities of th'Empire :—

Collen,
Regenspurg,
Straspurg,
Ausspurg,
Metz,
Nurnberg,
Worms,
Costentz [Coblentz],
Lubeck,
Ulm,
Speire,
Esslingen,
Frankfurt,
Reytlingen,
Hagenau,
Nordlingen,
Colmar,
Rotenburg uppon the Tauber,
Goslar,
Schwebischall,
Milhausen,
Northawsen,
Uberlingen,
Wetzslar,
Rotweyl,
Offenburg,
Haylprunn,
Gengenbach,
Schwebischgmind,
Fridberg,
Memmingen,
Lindaw,
Bibrach,
Ravenspurg,
Kempten,
Kauffpewren,
Winsshaim,
Dinckelspuhel,
Schwebischwerd,
Weyssenburg in Nortgaw,
Wangen,
Yssni,
Schweinfurt,
Alen,
Bopffingen,
Tonnewert.

[1] 'In this town of Stuccardia abidethe Johannes Brentius, the Duke's chie preacher' (side-note in MS.).

8ϑ 21 From Esslingen to Geppingen,[1] Starr . iij^{le}

Here we arrived the xxiijth of July. Withowt the walles of this towne there is a fountaine of sharpe water, nie unto the which the Duke hathe built certain baynes where menn wash them in yt in tubbes after yt hathe bine sodd uppon the fire, which is reckoned of the countrey abowt a verie helthsom and soveraign matter for such as have a cold stomake, or unperfect digestion, or a hott lyver, or ague, or almost any matter of impediment. This water is also good to bee drunke eyther warmed or cold at all times; and it servethe th'inhabitants abowt in steade of wine. In this water did my brother bathe himself the space of vij or viij dayes bothe before noone and after: encreasing everie daye from on howre at the first beginning untill vj or vij howres a day, and not past (for to beginn with so manie howres at the first, as they say, doth great hurt to the bodie and affoyblethe yt verie much)—that is to say, iij or iiij howres before dyner and iij howres after, as a man is dissposed. And like as the beginning was not sodainlie to vij howres in the daye, so shuld the end diminishe by litle and litle, everie day half an howre less or therabowt. They say he that will use yt in perfection to do him good must bathe vj^{xx} howres in all.

The ruines of a faire castle are to be descerned a farr of owt of this towne, situated in times past uppon a verie hie hill, half a league withowt the towne, called Stauffen,[2] which was destroyed and burnt by the communes of Germanie, when they made a generall insurrection against the nobilitie and gentlmen.

We departed owt of this towne the first daye of August on our journeye towardes Italye, having rested here to take this kind of water an viij or ix dayes. Hard by this towne runnethe a river called Filtz, which goethe into the Neckar.

ϑ 22 From Geppingen to Geislingen, Swann . . ij^{le}

This towne belongethe to the lordes of Ulm.

Here hath bine a faire castle uppon the hill, and was overthrown when Marquess Albert spoiled the countrey abowt Ulm to the verie ground, that almost no sign remaynethe.

[1] 'Here is a preacher called Doctor Jacobus Andreas' (side-note in MS.).

[2] 'In this castle was born Fredericke Barbarozza, th'Emperor' (side-note in MS.).

♃ From thense to Halbec . . . . ij^le long.

This doth appertain to the lordes of Ulm.
Uppon the side of a hill above it is a faire castle.

♃ 23 From thense to Geinsbruck [Günzburg], Cross . . . . . ij^le long.

This towne doth belong to the King of Romanes; yt standeth uppon the river of Gentz [Günz]; and before we cum to yt we pass over the river of Danubius, called in Dutche the Thonaw.

△ 24 From thense to Sousmerhausen . . iij^le

This village is of the Carnall[1] of Auspurg's possessions, which hathe great territorie here abowt. Before we cum to yt we pass throwghe a long, thicke, thevishe wood, verie daungerous.

4 ♁ 25 From thense to Ausspurg, Crowne . iij^le

This is on of the bewtifullest free cities of th'Empire. There is no land belonging to yt, but there are within yt rich marchentmenn, as the Folkers, the Velsers, the Poungarts, the Herbrothes, and such other which have indeed lands belonging to them, but not abowt the citie. For all that, yeven to the hard walles of yt almost, belongethe to the Duke of Bavire and to the Cardinall of Auspurg. This citie is verie faire built, and manie goodlie conveyancs of waters within yt.

At our cumming hither we understood newes owt of England of the Prince of Spaine his arrivall there in the port of Southampton the xx of July, and the solemnisation of the marriage betwext the Quene's Majestie and him at Winchester the xxv^th of Julye, where by letters patents from his father, th'Emperor, he was openlie pronounced King of Naples and Hierusalem, to the stile of England.

) 26 From Auspurg to Brugk, Hartshead . . v^le

It belongethe to the Duke of Bavire. Within half a league or Ausperg we passed the river Leigh [Lech], and cam by Friburg,

[1] Cardinal.

a towne that by the Duk's means hath maintayned warr against Ausspurg a long time. From Ausspurg we cum owt of the hie waye to see the towne of Miniken.

θ 27 From Brugk to Miniken [München, Munich]. iij^{le}

This is the cheefest towne within the Duk's land. It standethe in a goodlie plaine verie plentifull round abowt yt. The towne for the bigness is generallie as well built and hathe as bewtifull streates as anie citie in all Germanie. Not a house of tymber within it, but all of freestone and bricke in such cumlie order and due proportion that yt hath not his name all abrode for nothing. Hard by the walles of yt the Duke hathe a castle wherin are faire lodgings and pleasant orchardes and gardines with sundrie devises of conveyance of waters, replenisshed with delicate frutes and saverie flowres.

This towne standethe uppon a river that goethe into the Danubius, called Yser, and part of him runnethe throwgh the Duk's gardines. It is a famous towne for the best lutestrings in all Germanie.

Δ 28 From Minikin to Wolfershausen [Wolfratshausen] . . . . . iiij^{le}

This standethe uppon a river called the Luese [Loisach], which goeth into the Yser. After we pass thorowgh this village we cumm to a thick wood of great firr trees ij leagues broode.

Δ From thense to Laingreben . . . . iij^{le}

By this village is a great monasterye called Benedictenpeuren, verie rich in possessions. A league from hense we begin to enter into the hilles of the Alpes, where we ascended a verie highe hille, and the wagon was drawen upp by force of horses with much difficultie.

Δ From thense to Waltsee [Walchensee] . . iij^{le}

This village is so called by the name of the lague that it standethe uppon. The lague is 725 faddom diepe, which th'inhabitants affirm hathe bine proved within the memorie of mann. Yt is compassed abowt with hige hilles on all sides. In the

hie way betwext this and Laingreben we cam by another lague called Kochelsee, not so deepe but much broder.

Δ 29 From thense to Mittenwalt, Lion . . ij^{le}

All this way is full of great hie firr trees, wherof finding on lijnge uppon the ground we found him to bee lx yardes in lengthe of good tymber; verie straight and thicke.

This belongethe to the Bisshoppe of Frizerr, which holdeth of the Duke. Here cummeth in the hie waye from Auspurg into Italie. All along the valley here runnethe the river that passeth Miniken, which hath his beginning at Lovaccia, iij leagues farther of.

Δ From thense to Seefelt . . . . . iij^{le}

It is so named because there is a litle small lague by it. Before we arrive here we pass through a sluce of the King of Romanes called Klausen, which seperatethe the Duk's land, called Nyder Bayern, from the countie of Tirol, which is the King's.

1 ϑ 30 From thense to Innspruk,[1] Hans Frelick . iij^{le}

This is a litle towne and well built, and it is the heade towne of Tirol. It standethe uppon the river of Syene,[2] which hath his beginning at a place in Swicerland called Engeting, and goith into the Danubius at Passau with a swift streame. In the same hill the Rhine in Germanie, and the Adice in Italie, have their first beginning also. Three leagues from hence are certain silver mines at a place called Swatz, belonging to diverse, as the King of Romanes, the Bisshoppe of Saltsburg, the Folkers, etc., and within a league of yt is Halla, where abundance of salt is dailie made. Abowt the toune are dyverse mines of yron and other metalles, whiche from thense are convayed (for their perfection) into sundrie partes of Europe. For Insspruck stuff is much sett by in all places as well as for armor as for all other things of mettall.

There were in the palaice here, called the castle, sixe of the King of Romanes' dawghters—

Magdalena, of the age of xxiiij.

[1] 'There is a place without the towne where are 32 brass imags, the pictures of certain of the House of Austria, a marvelous peece of work' (side-note in MS.).

[2] Now known as the Inn.

Leonora, of the age of xxij.
Margarita, of the age of xx.
Barbara, of the age of xv.
Helena, of the age of xj.
Joanna, of the age of vij.

My brother went thither to visit them, and was browght to their presence by on Geronimo, Baron of Sprincestain, a counsellar of the King's.

The Ladie Margaret he sawe not, for that she was somwhat yll at ease and kept her chambre. Besides these vi he hathe other iij, on married to the Duke of Bavire, an other to the Duke of Cleve, and the third to the King of Polonia, which was maried to Fraunes, the yong Duke of Mantua, that was drowned. The King was first maried to the King of Romanes' eldest dawghter, that died.

Δ From Insspruck to Matra, Egle . . . iij^{le}
) 31 ,, thense to Stertzin, Grifin . . . iiij^{le}

Betwext Matra and Stertzin there is a monument[1] graven in brass with an inscription signifijnge how th'Emperor Charles the Vth, after his coronation at Bolonia [Bolognia] in the yere of xxx, cumming owt of Italie, was there mett by King Ferdinando, his brother.

In the middle waye there is the beginning of a river called Prenerpach, which fallethe downe from a hie hill, and we folowe the course of yt untill we cumm to Trent. And on the other side beginnethe a litle river that runnethe into the Siene benethe Inspruck.

θ From thense to Prixen . . . . . iiij^{le}

The Cardinall of Trent is Bishoppe of this towne, and they hold of him under the King, paing unto him their custommes. Here the river is called Eysackh.

) 32 From thense to Klausen, Lambe . . . ij^{le}

[1] Imp. Cæs. Carolo V. p. f. Aug. ex Hispaniis Italiaque susceptis Imperialibus coronis aduenienti et Ferdinando Hungar. Boemiæque regi e Pannoniis occurrenti optimis Principibus ad perpetuam publicæ lætitiæ memoriam quod fratres ante an. VIII. digressi summis inter mortales honoribus regnis triumphis aucti, hoc in loco salui sospitesque conuenerunt Anno Salutis MDXXX, Frid. Franzius a monte Muco stenaci Præfect. mandato regio f. c.

Here the river is named Bocer.

Δ From thense to Culman . . . . . j^{le}
Ɔ 33 „ „ „ Botzen or Botzan, Golden Egle . . . . . iij^{le}

This is a pretie towne, compassed abowt with hilles, and the litle vale abowt it is verie frutefull with vines and sundrie kindes of frutes:

Δ From thense to Niuenmarke . . . . . iij^{le}
Δ „ „ „ Salorn . . . . . j^{le}

Here the river is called Eiche [Etsch].

Δ From thense to San Michael . . . j^{le}
Ɔ 34 „ „ „ Trento, Rose . . . ij^{le}

Here the river is called l'Adice, and goith from hense to Verona. This towne is in the countie of Tirollo, and is in the Cardinalle's government under the King. Wherin the Cardinall hath a faire castle. In this towne they speake for the most part Italian, and manie Dutch, which as they differ in language so do they varie in fasshions and maners.

Δ From thense to Pergini, Egle . . . . v^{ml}

Here we cumm to the Italian miles, after we pass Trent, and leave the Dutch leagues, with v miles to the league.

Δ From thense to Lievigo . . . . . v^{ml}

Betwext Pergini and Lievigo we ride by the side of a lague called Lago di San Christofano. This lague hath his yssue owt into an other lesser, owt of the which the river of Brenta, that goith by Padoa, hath his heade. And by this river's side we ride untill we cumm to Bassano.

) From thense to Al Borgo . . . . viij^{ml}
Δ „ „ „ Castelnovo . . . ij^{ml}
Δ 35 „ „ „ Grigno, Lion . . . vij^{ml}
Δ „ „ „ Scala . . . . . v^{ml}

This village of Scala belongethe to the Venetians.

From thense to Covolo . . . . . j^{ml}

This is a straight passage and narrowe betwext the hill and

the river, where is a custome house belonging to the King of Romanes.

Here is a dwelling-place on hige within the rocke, unto the which menn and victell, or what so ever is needfull for their use, is wound up by a corde with a windless, and likewise cummethe downe by the same. Within this house in the rocke runnethe a great spring of water, which cummeth down the hill with great abundance.

Δ From thense to Sismon [Cismon] . . ij^{ml}

Here the Venetians have custome paid them of all such as travaile to and fro.

Δ From thense to Carpinea . . . vj^{ml}
Ɔ 36 ,, ,, ,, Bassano, Angel . . vj^{ml}

Somwhat before we cumm to the towne we leave the mountaines called Alpes and enter into a brode plaine countrey, full of frutes, vines, and corn.

Ɔ From thense to Cittadella . . . viij^{ml}
,, ,, ,, the passage over the Brenta ix^{ml}
Δ ,, ,, ,, Limina . . . . ij^{ml}
θ 37 ,, ,, ,, Padova, Sunn . . . vj^{ml}

We arrived in Padova the xxiijth of the moneth of August, where as we mett with Sir Thomas Wroth,[1] Sir Jhon Cheeke,[2] Sir Henry Nevell,[3] Sir Jhon Cutts, Mr. Bartye,[4] Mr. Taumworth, with iij of Sir Anthonie Denie's sonnes, Mr. Henry Cornwallis, Mr. Jhon Ashley, Mr. Drurye, Mr. Henry Kingsmell, Mr. Windam,

[1] Sir Thos. Wroth (1516–1573), of Enfield, Middx., escaped from England in fear of arrest as being connected with Suffolk's second rising (*D.N.B.*). A learned gentleman of Edw. VI.'s court. *See* Strype, *Ecc. Mem.*

[2] Sir John Cheke, born 1514, tutor to Ed. VI., Professor of Greek at Camb., Sec. of State. Committed to Tower on Mary's accession, but discharged 1554 with royal license to travel. (*D.N.B.*)

[3] Sir Henry Neville, of Billingbear, Berks, a gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Edward VI. Knighted 1551.

[4] Mr. Bartye, probably Mr. Richard Bertie, who married, in 1552, Katherine, widow of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. They were both exiles on account of religious views. Foxe gives an account of their adventures in his *Acts and Monuments*. See p. 124, *infra*.

Mr. Roger Carewe, and Mathew, his brother, Mr. Brooke, Mr. Orphinstrange, with dyverse other. And shortlie after here arrived Sir Anthonye Cooke.[1] Besides all these here I found Mr. Thomas Fitzwilliams, whom in fore time I had left in Fraunce, whose studie and industrie in obtayning of vertuous knowlege hathe spred abrode a worthie fame of it self. And indede it was no small contentation of mind unto me to find him here, whose unfayned frendshipp I had alwais tasted of in sundrie places, and now receaved the frutes of the same.

A Journey to Mantua.

The xxith of October my brother, Mr. Wroth, Mr. Cooke, and Mr. Cheeke, with their companies, sett forwardes toward this journey as folowethe:

) From Padova to Moncelise . . . x^{ml}
) 1 From thense to Este . . . . v^{ml}

Owt of this towne had the house of Este that are Duks of Ferrara his origin.

) From thense to Montagnana . . . x^{ml}
Ə „ „ „ Lignago . . . . viij^{ml}

This towne is divided in the middle with the great river of Adice. The first side of the towne we cumm into is communlie called Porto, and the other side over the river Lignago: well fortified on bothe sides with square boulwards, lowe after the new fasshion, and withowt flankers. It standethe in a plaine, as all the rest of the countreye abowt.

Δ 2 From thense to Sanguinea [Sanguinetto] . x^{ml}
Δ „ „ „ Muradiga . . . . vii^{ml}
) „ „ „ Castellare . . . . j^{ml}

This belongeth to the Duke of Mantua. Betwext Muradiga and this towne there is a place called Fossa, which with a small

[1] Sir Ant. Cooke, of Gidea Hall, Essex (1504–1576), a man of very great learning, tutor to Edward VI., Knight of the Bath. He was committed to the Tower on suspicion of complicity in Lady Jane's movement. He married Anne, daughter of Sir Will. Fitzwilliam, and was father-in-law to Thos. Hoby.

distance dividethe the Venetians' countrey from the Duk's of Mantua.

2 ⸸ 3 From thense to Mantua, Sonn . . . x^ml

Here we understoode that fewe dayes before our arrivall the Marquess of Pescara (being sent by the King of England to take possession of the realm of Naples for him) had, with great triumphe, maried the Duk's syster as he passed by this towne towardes Naples.

Here we vewed diligentlie the strong site of the towne, compassed abowt with the lague and marrisshes, and fortified in the weakest places verie stronglie with boulwarks and rampares. We were ledd abowt to the Duk's palaces, and sawe the grotta where the old Dutchess' jewelles are, with sundrie faire antiquities worthie to be seene. By yond the bridge of the milles towardes Porta Nova there is Virgilius' heade in stone sett uppon the toppe of a marble pillar, with this inscription on the pillar—

Mantuæ genium in P. Virgilio
Marone cive suo veneramur.
Marius Æquicola Poetæ,
D.

After two dayes' abode in Mantua we sett forwardes toward Ferrara along bye the Po.

From Mantua (passing by Governo, where the river Meltio [Mincio], that cummethe by Mantua, entrethe into the Po, and by Saravalla, uppon the Po) to Ostia, Castle . xviij^ml

Throwghe Ostia is the throwgfare from Fraunce, Germanie, Grisland, and other countreys into the rest of Italy. On the other side of the Po, over against Ostia, there is a pretie towne called River [Revere].

) Δ From Ostia [Ostiglia] to Melara . . iij^ml
Δ From thense alonge by the Po side to the passage over the Po called Porto del Palanton . . . . . xvij^ml

Before we cumm to this passage we may discern the Po to divide into two partes. The on arm goethe hard by the walles of

Ferrara, and the other that we passed over cummethe within iij miles of the towne, and entreth into the seea in ij sundrie places. And whoso will go by water the next way to Venice takethe his bote in that part of the Po that we passed over, at Francolini.

1 ♃ 5 From thense to Ferrara, Angel . . . x^{ml}

This towne is well ditched on everie side and stronglie fortified with great walles and mounts, and not withowt cause counted on of the strongest in Italye. On the other side of the Po that cummethe under the walles of the towne is the yland of Belvedere, where the Duk's house of pleaser is, with sundrie divises for water, and where salt is made.

From thense to the passage over the Po at the ferie called Ponte Vescura [Pontelagoscuro] iij^{ml}
From thense to the passage over the on part of the Adice at Villa . . . . . xi^{ml}

Somwhat before we cumm to this passage we entre into the Venetians' dominions.

θ 6 From thense to Rovigo, Sonn . . . vj^{ml}

This is an old towne and hath a bisshoppe over it. Throughe it runnethe a litle river that cummethe owt of the Adice.

Δ From thense to the ferie over the maine river of the Adice, called Anguillara . vij^{ml}
Δ From thense to Conselve, throwghe the plasshes and marisshes of the Adice . vii^{ml}
θ From thense to Padova . . . . x^{ml}

Here we arrived again the xixth of October.

This yere, abowt the xxviijth of November, were abrogated in England by Act of Parlament all such statutes, actes, and injunctions as had bine in time tofore established against the Bisshoppe of Rome's usurped authoritie, and the wholl realm, by the submission of the Parlament, absolved by Cardinall Pole from their heresies and othe taken against him in times past, by full authoritie from him being Legatus ex latere.

The writing began the xviijth of November I ended the ixth of Februarie folowinge.

1555.

Pope July the Third died the xxith of Marche, and in his rowme succeaded Cardinall di Santa Croce, called by name Marcellus the Second, not chaunginge his name, as other Popes had done in foretime; who going abowt spedilie to bring to pass sundrie reformations of abuses in the Churche, died the last day of Aprill folowing, not withowt susspition of poyson, being made Pope onlie by the assent of the Imperiall Cardinalles, the Frenche Cardinalles not being assembled. He raigned in the seate xxij dayes.

The imperiall armie, guided by the Duke of Florence and the Marquess of Marignano, so oppressed the citie of Siena with long siege and sore assalts, that for want of vittualles to hold owt enie longer yelded uppe into the Emperor's hands in the monethe of Aprill [1] by composition.

The ixth of Maye Sir Jhon Cutts departed owt of this woorlde at Venice of a pleurisie, as it is judged.

The xxv was created Pope Cardinall Theatin, commonlie called Cheti, of the familie of Caraffa in Naples, of whom Viscount Montacute and the Bisshoppe of Elye [2] had audience on the King and Quene's Majesty's behalf for the restitution of England again to owr holie mother, the Churche of Roome.

The xijth of June my Lord of Bedfort arrived in Padoa, and Sir Anthonye Cooke departed towards Germanie.

In the monethe of July Sir Anthonye Browne, Vicount Montague, returned by Padoa from Roome, and the Bisshoppe of Ely arrived at Venice in his jorney towards England again, where my brother went to see him.

The xvth of July my brother departed owt of Padoa towardes the Baynes of Caldero, besides Verona.

After xxij dayes abodd at Caldero, to take the water, we departed thense in cumpanie with Mr. Wrothe and Mr. Cheeke, who were then cumm from Padoa, for that the plague, that was ceased before owr cumming from thense, begann again to encrease.

We taried a while at Verona, as well to see the towne as the countrey abowt, and the lague called Lago di Garda, xv miles from Verona, at Lazize, and xv miles from thense all the breadeth of the lague which stretchethe to the towne of Salo, uppon the

[1] 'The xvijth of Aprill' (side-note in MS.). [2] Thos. Thirlby.

lague's side, all which coost of the lague is called Riviera di Salo, marvelouslie besett with citron trees, orenges, and lymones, verie plesant to behold.

From the towne of Salo we returned backe again to Peschera, xviij miles, which is a towne situated in the marisshes on the lague's side, newlie begonn to be marvelouslie fortified by the Venetians.

Throwghe this towne owt of the lague runnethe the river Meltio, that goith to Mantoa, in the which river are taken verie good trowts, and great yeles that at certain times (as Pliny writeth) gather themselves into clustres, and after the shape of round balles tumble owt of the lague down the river, on knitt within an other.

This lague is in length xxxv miles, in breadethe in on place xv miles, in compass above an hundrethe, and in deepethe in most places ij and iij hundrethe fadom. Within the lague is verie good fishe, as trowts, yeles, pickerelles, tenches, and carpioni, which (as the inhabitants say) feede upon the mines of gold and sylver that are in the lague. Onse this is true there are no excrements in the bellie of them, as in other fisshes ; and this kind of fishe, they say, is found no where elles but onlie in this lague.

My Brother's Jorney owt of Italy.

θ From Padoa to Vicenza, Peacock . . xviij^{ml}
Δ From thense to Caldero . . . . xxij^{ml}
θ ,, ,, ,, Verona, Canalletto . . viij^{ml}

Throwghe this citie runnethe the Adice, that passes by Trento.

Δ From thense to Volarni [Volargno] . . xij^{ml}
Δ ,, ,, ,, Chiusa . . . . ij^{ml}
) ,, ,, ,, Borghetto . . . . x^{ml}

A mile or ij before we cumm to this towne we entre into Tyroll, the King of Romanes' countrey.

) From thense to Rovere [Rovereto] . . xv^{ml}
Ɔ ,, ,, ,, Trento . . . . xij^{ml}

From thense to Innsprucke, Minichen, and Auspurg, as in owr jorney into Italy, where we arrived the 28th August.

Here we found the King of Romanes[1] with the Archduke Charles, his youngest sonn, at the Diet (which had continued long before), bothe for the uniting of Germanie in religion and for aiding th'Emperor and the King against the commune ennemie, the truce being now expired.

The princs that were at this Diet, by their agents and not on in person, stoode exceading much upon their religion, which was the onlie point and stay therof, bearing in mind the Diet had at Passa by the King and the Duke Maurice, and the conclusions there agreede upon, bothe in the Emperor's and in the Empire's behalf, as in the yere 1552.

Here, the first of September, my brother spake with the King, who gave him gentle audience. In this diet was entreated also by the stats of th'Empire that Protestants shuld be intermedled with the rest of the Chamber of th'Empire, to th'entent that all shuld not consist in the Papists' hands onlie, concerning rule and government towching the astate of th'ole Empire.

Also that the bando imperial to banishe and exile within the precint of th'Empire, and to confiscat their goodes that trespase, shuld not be withowt the authoritie and consent of the Princs Electors; least for everie trifling cause of displeaser menn shuld be banisshed owt of th'Empire.

It was furthermore decreed that enie parson, of what condition soever he be of, that will forsake Poperie and becum a Protestant shuld depart owt of the countrey he dwellethe in, in saftie with his goodes and lyving, to remaine where he lustethe within the Empire, and in this decree was contayned the King's own countrey of Austria, and belongethe as well to prests as to the laytie, saving that priests shall not enjoye their stipend and revenue yf they forsake their pristhood, but onlie their movables.

The xxvi of September the Diet ended with an oration made by the King for a small conclusion of the same unto the stats there assembled in the towne house after the maner.

And the first day of Marche the princs themselves promised to meet the King at Ratisbona at an other Diet for farther matters at the King's request, who the day after his oration made departed owt of the citie of Auspurg towards Inspruck, there to remaine during this wynter.

[1] 'He cam hither the 29 of December, 1554' (side-note in MS.)

The last of September my brother departed owt of Auspurg and made his jorney by Ulm, Esling [Esslingen], Stutcard, and Spire.

) From Spire to Overson [Oggersheim ?] . . iij^{le}

This is the Palsgrave of the Rhyne his towne, latlie burnt and now building.

♃ From thens to Woormes, White Swann . . iij^{le}
♃ „ „ „ Oppenheim, Crowne . . iiij^{le}

This towne dothe belong unto the Palsgrave, but is possessed presentlie of th'Empire, for certain interests betwext the Palsgrave and th'Empire.

♄ From thens to Mentz, Wild Mann . . . iij^{le}

Marquess Albert entring into the citie, spoiled and burnt the Bisshoppe's palaice, with certain abbayes and monasteries bothe within and withowt the citie.

From this citie certain of us went to see the citie of Franckford, iiij leagues along the ryver of Mene, that runnethe by yt, and entrethe into the Ryne on the other side of Mentz. In Franckford were Mr. Jhon Hales,[1] Mr. Thomas Ashley, Mr. J. Cope, Mr. Sutton, Mr. Whitehead,[2] pastor, Jhon Bale, Turner[3] of Wyndsore, and dyvers other men and womenn to the number of on hundrethe, whiche had there a churche graunted them to preache in.

Here, in Mentz, we tooke bote to go downe the Rhyne into Brabant.

♃ 1 From Mentz to Binge [Bingen] . . . iiij^{le}
) „ thense to Bachrach . . . . ij^{le}

In this towne of the Palsgrave's were the Lantsgrave of Hess and the Erle of Nassaw, attending for the arrivall of the Palsgrave, the Duke of Cleve, the Duke of Wirtenberg, and manie other

[1] Mr. John Hales, of Coventry, son of Thomas Hales, of Hales Place, Halden, Kent. Miss Lamond, in her edition of *A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England*, ascribes the authorship of the work to him. The Christopher Hales mentioned on p. 6 was probably his brother. Cf. the elaborate note on Hales, by Mr. I. S. Leadam, *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.* N.S. vol. xi. p. 116.

[2] Dr. David Whitehead, an exile on account of religious views in 1555. Pastor of the English congregation at Frankfort (Strype).

[3] Richard Turner, a Protestant divine, Prebend of Windsor 1551 and Vicar of Dartford. (*D.N.B.*)

princs that had appointed an assemblie here together for a concord and agrement to be had betwext the Lantsgrave and the Erle of Nassaw, concerning certain lands in controversie betwext them.

Benethe Bachrache in the middle of the Rhyne, uppon a litle rock, standeth a house called Pfalz, wherof the Pfalzgrave of the Rhyne takethe his name.

θ	2	From Bachrach to Coulens [Coblentz], Helmet	vij^{le}
♄	3	From Coulens to Collen, Wildman . . .	xiij^{le}
♃		„ Collen to Disteldorf	v^{mle}
)		„ thense to Kaiserswert . . .	i^{le}
)	4	„ „ „ Ursy [Orsoy] . . .	iiij^{le}
θ		„ „ „ Wesel	ij^{le}

Here cummethe a diepe ryver into the Ryne, called the Lappe [Lippe]. In this towne lay my Lady of Suffolke[1] with her husband, newlye browght a bedd of a boye. The towne is in Clevland, a free towne and under the protection of the Duke of Cleve.

θ 5 From thense to Emmere [Emmerich], Crowne iiij^{le}

A league from this towne within the land standethe the Duke's chef towne, called Clef, wherof the land taketh his name.

A mile from Emmere downe the Rhyne standethe a house called Toll house, wheras custom is paid for the Emperor, the Duke of Gelderland, and the Duke of Cleve, everie on his severall custom. At this custom are iij townes in Gelderland free—Tiel, Bomar, and Numegen. At this toll house we leave the maine river of the Rine on the right hand and enter into a braunch of it called the Wall, whiche never meete again. And here we entre into the land of Berg.

θ From Emmere to Numegen . . . . iij^{le}

This is the chief towne of Gelderland, and in yt are ij customes, those for the Duke, and th'other for the towne.

♃ 6 From thense to Tiele, Pellican . . . iiij^{le}

[1] Catharine, widow of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, Baroness Willoughby d'Eresby in her own right; born at Parham, Suffolk, 1519; married, 1552, Richard Bertie (see p. 116). The boy mentioned here was born October 12, 1555, and named Peregrine (*Complete Peerage*, G.E.C.).

A league from this towne the Mose and the Wall meete bothe in on, and at a village called Herwart [Heerwaarden], less than an English mile from the place where th'on cummeth into th'other, they depart again, eche of them his owne waye. And from thense we cam downe the Mose (leaving the Wall on the right hand) the space of two leagues, where we entred into a great ditche that browght us against the streame owt of the Mose unto Hertzogenbuss, a league in lengthe, which is on of the cheffest townes in Brabant.

θ From Tiel to Hertzogenbuss, Host . . . iiij^{le}

Here we sold owr bote and rod by land to Antwerpe.

As we cam downe the Rhine we passed manie custom houses, where all bottes of marchandises, uppon paine of deathe, must pay their custome and toll, and are from Mentz downward xxj.

1 First at Bing for the Bisshopp of Mentz.
2 At Bacrach ,, ,, Palsgrave.
3 ,, Cause, over against Pfalz, for the Palsgrave.
4 ,, Gewere for the Lantsgrave.
5 ,, Pubbart ,, ,, Bisshoppe of Trier.
6 ,, Losta ,, ,, Bisshopp of Mentz.
7 ,, Ingers ,, ,, ,, ,, Collen.
8 ,, Bunn[1] ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
9 ,, Aldernach ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
10 ,, Lintz ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
11 ,, Zontz ,, ,, citie of Collen.
12 ,, Disteldorf ,, ,, Duke of Cleve.
13 ,, Kayserswert ,, ,, B. of Collen.
14 ,, Ursy ,, ,, Duke of Cleve.
15 ,, Burick ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
16 ,, Emere ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
19 ,, Tollhouse ,, ,, ,, ,, Gelderland, th'Emperor, and the Duke of Cleve.
21 ,, Numegen for the Duke and the citie.

) From Hertzogenbuss to Tylberg . . . iij^{le}
☽ From thense to Holstrat [Hoogstraten] . . iiij^{le}
✠ ,, ,, ,, Antwerp . . . . v^{le}

[1] If Bonn is meant here it should have been put between Linz and Zontz.

After ix dayes' abode in this citie we departed from thense to Brusselles, where the Erle of Devonshire was taking his journey toward Italy, and the Lord Hastings into England.

Abowt Allhaloutide Mr. Michel Blount, Mr. Skidmore, Kemis, and I departed from Antwerp toward England. From London I went to Evesham,[1] and there lay a season, untill my brother cam thither.

This yere died the Bisshopp of Winchester, Stepan Gardiner, Chaunceler of England; and great persecution there was for Godd's Woorde.

The Bisshoppe of Canterbury,[2] Riddley, and Latimer were burnt at Oxford, and manie at London.

1556.

Abowt Candlemas cam my brother to London out of Flaunders, and shortlie after tooke his journey into Worcestershire; at his departure thens I went with him to Bissham, which was at Easter.

This yere were Peckham, John Throgmorton, Daniell, and certain other hanged for treason.

In the Whiteson weeke I returned to Evesham, where the Bisshopp of Worcester cam shortlie after in visitation to set up imags, etc.

1557.

In Lent I cam to Bissham, there to continew. At Midsommer cam to Bissham Sir William Cecill, my Lady Bourn, my Lady Cecill, with her sister, Elizabeth Cooke. Immediatlie after their departure thens tooke my brother his journey toward Evesham, and from thens to Bathe. I remained at home to see his new building go forward.[3]

Upon Christmas Day I fell sick of a burning fever, which helde me till Twelf Day.

[1] At Evesham was an estate belonging to Sir Philip Hoby.

[2] Thomas Cranmer, burnt March 2, 1555.

[3] The 'new building' to which reference is here made was not completed till 1561. It no doubt included most of the Tudor work on the north and south of the Hall. In the Tapestry Room, south of the Hall, the arms of Thomas Hoby, impaled with those of his wife, are carved over the fireplace.

1558.

Upon Twelfday was Calice lost, where they within were taken prisoners, and Sir Anthony Aucher, Knight Marshall, slaine with his eldest sonn, Jhon.

The xviij of Aprill my brother Philipp went from Bissham to London, there to seek the aide of phisitions, where he made his last will and testament, and made disposition of all his lands and goodds.

The xi of Maij I came to London, being sent for to set my hand to a recognisance, and retourned again the xiij, taking my way by Wimblton, where I communed with M^rs^ Elizabeth Cook in the way of mariage.

Whitesonday, the xxix of May, departed my brother out of this lief to a better, at iij a clock in the morning, leaving his executors, Sir William Cecill, Sir Richard Blount, and me, who took upon me after the will [1] was proved the administration of his gooddes.

The ix^th^ day of June he was buried at Bissham, being conveyed thither by water.

Monday the xxvij of June, the mariage was made and solemnised betweene me and Elizabeth Cooke, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, knight. The same day was also her syster Margaret, the Quene's maide, maried to Sir Rauf Rowlet, knight, who shortlie after departed out of this lief.

The rest of this sommer my wief and I passed at Burleighe, in Northamptonshire.

At Michelmas was I at the findinge of my brother's office at Worcester. From thens I retourned to London, where I founde my wief newly retourned out of Northamptonshire.

The xvij of Novembre died Quene Mary betweene vj and vij of the clock in the morning, and betwene ix and x was proclaimed at Westminster the Lady Elizabeth, Quene of England, France, and Ireland. The same day died Cardinall Poole, betwene vij and viij at night, who had brought up all poperie again in England.

This yere died also Charles the V^th^, Emperor, and in his place was elected Ferdinando, his brother.

Upon Christmas Day fell I sick of a sore plewrisie.

[1] Philip Hoby's will is dated May 1, and proved July 2, 1558, in the Prerogative Court (Noodes, 34), and is a lengthy but interesting document.

1559.

This yeer cam to the Court Mons[r] Monmerency, the Constable's eldest sonn, to confirm the peac betwene England and France.

The Queene was visited with sundrie messagers from great princs, as th'Emperor, the King of Suevia,[1] and divers other.

The viii day of July I came to Bissham with my wief, there to remaine.

The ix day of August I entred into a siknes that continued upon me the space of iij weeks.

The xij of November my wief went from Bissham to London, and there continued iij weeks in phisicke for her great belly, which was supposed to have bine a timpanie or dropsie.

1560.

The xx day of March was my wief, at midnight, delivered of a boy, being Wenesday.

The iiij[th] of Aprill he was christened and named Edward. Godfathers and godmother were the Lord Windesore, the Lord Darcie, and the Lady Williams of Ricot.

The xiij day of Maij my brother Richard maried.

The iiij of June was Sir Nicholas Bakon, Lord Keeper of the Greate Seale, and Sir Anthony Cooke, my father in law, at Bissham.

The xxv day of August died my Lady Hoby, late wief to my brother Sir Philip Hoby.

The xxx of the same the justics of the shire meat the Queene at Bagshot, comming toward Windsore.

The viij day of September dined at Bissham the Lord Marques of Northampton, the Erles of Arundell and Hertford, the Lord Cobham, the Lord Henry Seimer, Sir Roger Northe, the Lady Katharin Grey, Lady Jane Seimer, the Lady Cecill, M[rs] Blaunch Apparry, M[rs] Mannsfeld, the Queene's maids.

The xx of the same I departed toward Evesham and taried there xv daies.

The v of November I removed from Bissham to London, and there remained xiij weeks.

[1] Probably Eric, king elect of Sweden, who proposed to marry Queen Elizabeth.

There continewed for vj weeks in the Deane of Powle's house, sent from the Lords of Scotland, the Lord James Duglas, Erle of Moorton, the Lord Alexander Keningham [Cunningham], Erle of Glen Kerne [Glencairn], and the Lord William Matland of Ludington [Leithington], with an honorable traine, emong other things, to be as suters for the Erle of Arrane to the Queen's Majestie. At which time died the yonge French King, the Scottishe Queene's husband.

All this yere there was great susspicion of warres betwene Fraunce and England, bicause of the sieg of Lyth [Leith] against the French in Scotland, and the taking of the same, but after the French King's death this suspicion ceased.

This yeere was the turret built in Bissham.

1561.

The iiij day of June Powle's steple and the churche set on fire and burnt with lightning.

This yere were the new lodgings finished at Bissham.

1562.

The xxvij day of Maij was my wief delivered of a wenche betwene vj and vij of the clocke, at afternoone.

The xxxj of Maij she was christened and named Elizabethe. Godmothers and godfather were the Lady Frauncs Gresham, the Lady Elizabeth Nevell, and Mr. Jhon Doylie, Esquier.

This yere were the garden and orchard planted at Bissham, and the gallery made with noble men's armes, etc.

1563.

This yeere was the water brought in lead from Puddings [1] to the house, and the fountain placed in the garden at Bissham.

[1] In the particulars for Weldon's lease there is mentioned 'one grove and pasture called Podyngs conteyning by estimacion' 'xv acres,' and next to it on the list is 'le More,' containing 6 acres. *Aug. Off. Misc. Bks.* 185, 57.

1564.

Repairing of outhouses and barnes beyond the stable.

The xvjth day of November was Anne borne about vij of the clock at night.

Christened the xixth of the same, Mr. Deane of Westminster [1] being godfather, Mr. Thomas Throgmorton's wief and her aunt Katharin Cooke godmothers.

[1] Gabriel Goodman, S.T.P.

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THE END

PRINCE RUPERT AT LISBON

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EDITED FOR THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY BY THE LATE SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER, D.C.L.

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[redacted]

PREFACE

THE accompanying Narrative and Correspondence have recently been acquired by the British Museum, and are now to be found in 'Additional MSS.' 35, 251, fol. 26, &c. Imperfect as these papers are, they throw strong light on the relations between Rupert and the King of Portugal, proving beyond doubt that the latter had deliberately arranged for the reception of the Prince's fleet and for giving to the port of Lisbon a character hostile to the Commonwealth.

S. R. G.

[The Council are indebted to Mrs. S. R. Gardiner for the revision of the following text.]

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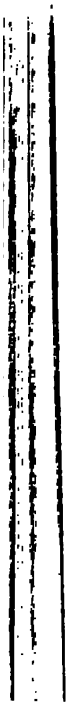

PRINCE RUPERT AT LISBON

A Breife relation of such passages and proceedings, as happened between the King of Portugall and his Ministers on the behalfe of the King of Great Brittaine after the Arrivall of his Ma^ty^ the King of Great Brittaine his fleet in the port of Lisboa.

His Highnesse Prince Rupert comming into the said port, with his sayd Ma^tye^ the King of Great Brittaines his fleet, about the end of November in the yeare 1649 was there at first receaved and entertayn'd with all possible expressions of love & frendshippe,[1] and to omitt such passages as are nothing materiall or pertinent to the purpose we intend—at his very first arrivall there, was sent unto him by the king's command a certaine paper signed by the Secretary of State, containing certaine articles of treaty and agreement concluded on betweene his said Majesty the King of Portugall,[2] and one S^r^ Arnold Dulisle on the behalfe of the King of great Brittaine about the liberty of portes for the fleet of his said Ma^tye^ King of great Brittaine in the Dominion of his said Ma^ty^ the King of Portugall; in which paper among others these Articles following were assented to,

That his said Ma^tys^ the King of Great Brittaine's fleete under the command of his Highnesse Prince Rupert should have the libertie and protection of the portes of the kingdom of Portugall during all the time he should thinke fitt to stay there.

That the ministers and officers of the King of Great Brittaine

[1] See the Narrative in Warburton's *Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers*, iii. 300.

[2] John IV., the first king of the House of Braganza.

should have power to make adjudication of such prizes as should be taken at sea by his Ma^tys fleete; and after such adjudication to sell and dispose of the same, in any of the portes of the Kingdome of Portugall.

That no inquisition should be made in what fashion or upon what titles they brought any such goodes to be sold, because it doth not belong to his majestie (the King of Portugall) or his ministers to judge of the qualities or titles of merchandizes which confederate nations with that Crowne doe bring to sell in the ports thereof.

That in case any shipps belonging to the enemies of his said Ma^ty the King of Great Brittaine, should happen to come to any of the said ports, whilst his said Ma^ey's fleete was there, they should be deteined in the said harbour three naturall dayes, after his said Majestie's the King of Great Brittaine his fleete was put to sea: See the treaty at large in Charta A.[1]

Upon the assurance of this agreement the Judge of the Admiraltie for his Ma^ty the King of Great Brittaine did legally proceed against certaine shippes surprized by his sayd Ma^ty's fleete in the open sea, and with it brought into the Port of Lisbon; and after . . . [dis]cussion and examination of the businesse all formall[ities o]f law being duly observed condemned them and the goods in th[em] as lawfull prizes to his Ma^ty the King of Great Brittaine: saving onely that he ordered all such goods aboard a certaine shippe of London called the Roebucke, bound from Brasile to Lisboa (but in the way intercepted by his Majesties fleete) as did belong to Portinguez, or such English as had beene ancient inhabitants in Portugall, and had no trade or commerce with the Rebells of England contrary to his Ma^ty's proclamations, should be restored to them.

See the several sentences given.

After these sentences were given there passed a decree from the said Judge to give possession of the said shipps and goodes for condemned and confiscated as aforesaid, to his Highnesse Prince Rupert as his Ma^tie speciall assignee in that behalfe; for him to sell and dispose of the same for his Ma^ties use as he should think fitt. And his Highnesse Prince Rupert in vertue thereof did contract and agree with certaine Portuguez merchantes for the taking all the said goods of his hands at certaine sales betweene them concluded on:

[1] See Appendix A.

See the agreement betweene the Prince and the Portuguese merchants.

Whilst this businesse of the saile of the goods was in agitation there came a letter from the Secretary of State to the Prince his Highnesse bearing date the 23 of December 1649 demanding restitution of the shippe the Roebucke; upon pretence that it was a shippe in the immediate service of the King of Portugall, and therefore ought to bee as free as one of his owne shippes; upon the receipt of which letter his Highnesse gave command to the Judge of the Admiraltie forthwith to draw up a paper in Latine, to shew the grounds upon which he had condemned it; that so he might send it to the Secretary of State to give him satisfaction in that particular, which was accordingly done. And the point in controversy cleerly evinced; that the King of Portugall had no manner of interest in the said shippe, but that the shippe did belong to divers inhabitants of the Citty of London, and that the profitt of the freight, and a great part of the lading was to be accountable to them.

See this letter and the answeare thereunto Charta B. the 1 and 2.[1]

This answeare was sent in a letter written by the Secretary of State, and the letter conteined words to th[is ef]fect; That by the Paper inclosed it might be seen [on what gr]ounds the said shippe, the Roebucke was adjudged . . . to his Ma^tie^ the King of Great Brittaine; That in regard his said Ma^tie^ had now a legall title to the said shippe, his Highnesse could not alienate it, without giving an accompt to his Majestie, why he did it. Howbeit notwithstanding any thinge conteined in the said paper if his Ma^tie^ the King of Portugall would affirme under his hand, that the said shippe was immediately in his service, or that he desired it might be restored for his sake his Highnesse would immediately restore it, but his Highnesse never receaved any answeare from the Secretary or any else; either to the said letter or to the paper inclosed.

On the seven and twentieth of January following,[2] the Secretary did write another letter to his Highnesse, wherein he doth declare, that the interessed in the shippes and goods his Highnesse

[1] See Appendix B. The answer is missing. On the other hand, there is a second letter from the Secretary of the same date, objecting to Prince Maurice going out to sea with the object of preying upon English commerce.

[2] 1650.

tooke, and those which follow the voice of the Parliament (to hinder the disposall of those goods in this Port) had required Justice of his Ma^ti: in an ordinary way and that it was impossible for his Ma^tie to hinder them but that he would rather be forced to give leave to his tribunals to make use of their jurisdictions, the causes for it being great and the inconveniencies, which by the contrary may happen to unquiet the welfare of the Kingdome being evident, that the Kingdome beganne to present to his Ma^tie with great resentment that by no meanes he doe any offence to the Parliament by reason of the damage that thereby might result to their commerce with them, nor to alter the ancient lawes and rites, especially by the prejudice of a third person. That therfore his Ma^tie had commanded him to give notice to his Highnesse before he came to imbarque[1] and sequester the goods and to apprehend and proceed against the buyers to gather togeather his shipps and to procure his speedy departure with all brevities. There weere other things besides inserted in the letter; which are purposely omitted, by reason this is the substance of all that is materiall, and the rest but additional circumstances to it.

See this letter at large, Charta C.[2]

Upon the rumor of such a letter sent by the Kings command to his Highnesse, (for the interessed marchantes to whome his Highnesse gave liberty to goe on shoare, and those of the Rebells in the citty had divulg'd it as much as they could) The Portuguez Marchants that had bought all and receaved part of their goods, (although they had not given full satisfaction for what they had receaved) fly from their bargaine, and would neither receave the remainder nor pay for what they had; in so much that his Highnesse was forced to protest against them, for all the damage he should sustaine by this meanes; and the ordinary tradesmen with whome his [Highnesse by] his officers had to doe for the victualling & furnishing of their shippes [takin]g example by the Portuguez Marchants that had contracted for the goods would not part with any thinge out of their hands but for ready money, so that his Highnesse neither being able to vent his goods nor to have creditt for such commodities as he had occasion to use, the setting out of the fleete was by this meanes much retarded.

His Highnesse finding himself in these streights presently addressed a letter written with his owne hand to the Secretary of

[1] *I.e.* to embarge.

[2] See Appendix C.

State, expostulatinge with him therin the injuries that weere done to him; but after some more mature deliberation, conceaving it to be a matter of higher importance, gave command that a Publique Remonstrance should be drawne in the Lattine tongue, that thereby he might give an account to the whole world how highly the Portuguez nation had broken the faith of their treaties and consultations with the King of Great Brittaine, and what prejudice was done to the King of Great Brittaines affaires by reason thereof. And with all made all preparation possible to get the fleete under his command out of the port as soone as he could.

The Ministers of State to the King of Portugall having by some meanes gott intelligence of the Course his Highnesse intended, thought it most conducing to the preservation of their honnour to stope the publication of this remonstrance. And therfore before the remonstrance was fully finished, the secretary of state came in person to the Prince his Highnesse, and told him that His Ma^tie the King of Portugall was sorry to heare that any such interpretation should be made of the letter written by his commande, and that he should either bid his Highnesse be gone out of the port, or that he should any way intend to breake, and infringe the treaties, and capitulations that had passed betweene the two Crownes, but gave him full assurance that the said treaties and capitulations should in every point be punctually observed;[1] upon which message his Highnesse gave order to the party that was appointed to draw the remonstrance, to desist from acting any thinge further therin.

Immediately after this his Highnesse made a complaint to the [King] of the injurie that was done him by the Portuguez March[ants . . .] of from their bargaine, and not paying him for what [they had alrea]dy receaved. Wherupon his Majestie excused himse[lf . . .] them to the füll performance of their bargaine, in [. . . mer]chants did alleadge that they weer overtaken in it, and . . .[2]

. . . . . .

after M^r Vaine[3] his audience was over, he somoned all the English

[1] See in Appendix D a letter of the Secretary of State of March 18 to the same effect.

[2] A sheet of the MS. is missing. The continuation is in a different handwriting.

[3] Charles Vane, brought out by Blake to treat with the King, as diplomatic agent of the Commonwealth. Blake arrived in Cascaes Bay on March $\frac{10}{20}$.

merchants of the Cittie before him, to whom he proposed two things, first that they should all superscribe a petition to the Kinge, for the sending both the fleets (to wit) that of his Ma^{ty} under the command of his Highnesse Prince Rupert (and that of the rebells) out to sea, that they might noe longer be an hinderance, or interruption to the trade of the Cittie: but his drift being smelt out by the merchants, that by this means he hoped to engage the two fleets to a fight, the greatest part of the best and ablest of them absolutely refused to signe it, as a thing that was noe way fitting for them to meddle in, but was propper for the Kinge and his counsell to determine, to which others added that they would by noe means subscribe such a petition as might be the occasion of the effusion of soe much English blood: the other point he proposed to them was to perswade them not to pay to the now consull any more duties of Consulage, but to reserve them for him that should be appointed by the Parliament to receive them, which proposition was not only rejected by most of the merchants, but gave occasion to the consull to complayne to the Kinge of the insolencie of the man, who being noe way qualified and having noe order from the Kinge, durst perswade men to denie him those duties, which by the King of England's commission weare allowed him, and by the Kinge of Portugall's approbation confirmed and by all the marchants subscribed toe: and to have them payed to such a one as should be nominated by the Parliament when the Articles of peace doe say expressly that noe Consull shall be received but such a one as is nominated by the Kinge.

Neither was M^{r} Vaine only busie in the contrivinge of his designes on shoare, but on board they weare as much busied in returning an answare to his Highnesse declaration; and at length there was a paper scattered up and downe the Cittie in forme of libbell (for it was not owned by any mā nor directed to any) soe scurrilously invective against the Prince his person, soe audatiously boastinge of the insolenses they have committed in England in [mur]theringe the late kinge, and dispossessinge his sonne, who is theyr lawfull kinge, of all the rights of his crowne, and conteining soe little satisfaction to the businesse pointed at by his highnesse declaration, that if any man durst have owned it (as M^{r} Vaine utterly disclaimed to have had any hand in the contriving it) there would have beene means found out to have made him smart for his insolencie.

See this answare of the Rebells Charta G.[1]

Whilest all men are amused expectinge the event of the beforementioned debates and these other passages a French Vessell coming in to the harbour was searched and ransaked by the rebells shipps; of which misdemeanour the French agent complayned to the King, who returned an ansvare to this purpose, that the French had only suffred a little truble in havinge theyre shippe searched, but the dishonour lay upon him that it was done in his port, but for the future he would take care that noe such thinge should be attempted; yet nevertheless on good fryday beinge the 15th of Aprill, stilo novo, 2 French men of war comminge under saile to enter into the harbour, as soone as they weare espied by the rebells fleet presently 3 of theyr frigots slipt theyr anchors and went towards them and brought them upp to theyr Admirall, the Capptaines of these 2 french vessells comminge on board weare threatned to be detayned theare, unlesse they would give them security not to joyne with P. Rupert: which they refusinge they weare actually deteined. Therupon a great complaint was made at Court by the French Agent, that his mr beinge a confederate of the crowne of Portugall could not have his shipps goe in and out of the port without beinge examined and having conditions imposed uppon them by these rebells; and desired the Kinge to give present order for the inlargment of the Capptaines and the bringing upp of the shipps. The Kinge heighly resents the affront that was done him by the committinge these insolences in his ports, and there uppon sends a most severe and threatninge message to Mr Vaine to send downe to the Admirall forth with to release the Captaines and to permitt the shipps to come upp, otherwise they should heare of him in another manner then they had done, which command Mr Vaine undertooke to performe, and thereuppon on the Sunday following both the Capptaines and shipps weare released, and with great joy and exultation came upp to the place where the Prince his shipps lay and there cast anchor by him.

Endorsed: Copie of the Relation of passages at Lixboa.

[1] Appendix E.

APPENDIX

A.

A COPY OF A PAPER WHICH MONSIEUR DELISLE, CAVALIER AND FIRST GENTLEMAN OF THE PRIVATE CHAMBER OF HIS MAJESTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, GAVE UNTO THE KING OF PORTUGALL.

RUPERT, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria etc., knight of the most noble order of the garter, Admirall and Lieutenant Generall of the maratine forces of his Majesty of great Britain, His majesty having given us power & particular commission to send unto the King of Portugall to treate & conclude with his Majesty what we shall judge profitable & necessary for the good of his affaires & particularly of his fleete, we have judged it expedient to send unto his said Majesty of Portugall, as in effect we send in the name of his Majesty of great Britain, Monsieur Lisle, knight & first Gentleman of his Majesty's privie chamber, to propose unto his Majesty of Portugall the articles following, & to procure with all diligence to obtain a grant of the contents, & to conclude with his said Majesty of Portugall with all advantage possible for the good of the affaires of his majesty of great Brittain. In witness whereof we have underwritten this comission with our own hand, & comanded it to be signed with the seale of our arms.

The King of Portugall shall give protection & liberty to the fleet or ships of his Majesty of great Brittain, sent by his Highness Prince Rupert, & to all having his commission to cast anchor in all ports, havens, rivers & roads belonging to the King of Portugall in Europe, Africa & Indies, & other parts of the world under his subjection & dominion, & in case the said fleet or ships bring unto the said places any prizes taken from the enemies of his said Majesty of great Brittain, his majesty of Portugall shall protect & give them freedom to stay there what time they shall thinke expedient & necessary with all security, with out the molestation of any, & that in the said places they shall remain & be in the full power & entire disposing of his majesty of great Brittain & of Prince Rupert.

Such ships as are prizes or any others that are loaden with merchandises as shall be brought into any of the said places by the said fleet or any having commission from Prince Rupert, shall remain there

what time they think necessary & shall not be visited by any in the kings behalfe nor by any of his officers, nor by any person whatsoever.

Marchandises so carried into any of the said places shall be sould only by such as have power & order for it from Prince Rupert, & that free from taxes & impositions upon the sellers part.

Any of the subjects of his Majesty of Portugall that will take commission from Prince Rupert shall have liberty so to doe, & shall enjoy all the said privileges.

In case that any ships taken by the fleet, or ships of the king of great Brittain under the command of Prince Rupert be carried into any the said places in the subjection & dominion of the king of Portugall before they be adjudged good & lawfull prize by the officers of his Majesty's Admiralty, then the said officers shall be permitted in the said places to judge such ships good and lawfull prize, unless it shall please his Majesty of Portugall to adjoyne one of his owne to the said officers of the said Admiralty of his Majesty of great Brittain, joyntly to give the said sentence of lawfull prize.

The contents of these said articles shall be presented to the King of Portugall, & as much as or as many of them as his Majesty shall please to grant to the King of Brittain, so much shall his Majesty of Great Brittain grant & give to his Majesty of Portugall in his dominions.

Given at Kinsaile in Irland the 13th of March 1649, signed & sealed with the seale of his arms.

RUPERT.

DE LISLE.

THE ANSWER WHICH HIS MAJESTY, WHOM GOD PRESERVE, COMMANDED TO BE GIVEN TO THE SAID PAPERS.

According to the capitulations of peace betwene this kingdom & England, any ships of the English nation may come & commerce in any ports of these kingdoms to the westerne Islands,[1] Tanger, & Marzagan,[2] & for that reason, & out of the desire his Majesty, whom god preserve, hath to give content in all things to his Majesty of great Brittain, his Majesty was pleased to send expresse advice to all the ports of this kingdom, to Algarve,[3] the Islands,[1] Tanger, & Marzagan that if to any the said places should come the fleet of his Majesty of great Brittain, or any ships belonging to the said fleet, they should be receaved

[1] The term 'The Islands' was the designation of the Azores, where the fleets from the Indies touched. Possibly Madeira and the Cape de Verde Islands are here included.

[2] Masagan, south of Tangiers.

[3] The kingdom of Algarve, South Portugal.

benignedly, & be suffered to sell all goods, and as many as they pleased, & by what title soever gotten, because it belongs not to his Majesty or any his Ministers to determine the legality of the title of such goods, which nations in amity & union with this kingdom bring into its ports to make sale of. And his Majesty doth further ordain that there be given for their mony into the said fleete or ships all that they shall stand of necessity of, & if in the fleete come Prince Rupert in person, his Majesty doth command that he be entertained & served with all due respect, & as long as the said fleete or ships remain in the said ports (which shall be by the time they please) his Majesty's command is they have such protection they be injured or damaged by none. And because the commerce with the conquests of this kingdome is by the laws of the land forbidden to strangers & in that conformity are the capitulations of peace & commerce with France, Sweden, Holland & other Princes with whom his Majesty had treatys, his Majesty in that poynt can grant no other thing to his Majesty of great Brittain for the prejudice of example to other Princes, who pretended the same, & were denied, as also the contradiction which the kingdom would make for breach of law in that poynt; But his Majesty doth comand all Governours of his conquests, that if the fleet of his Majesty of great Brittain or any ships thereof put into any the said ports to furnish them of necessarys, that what they want be given them, that they be well received, used & defended if they be in necessity of defence, atvertising notwithstanding they make no sayl of what they bring in, for that is to commerce, which as is above said is not in those parts permitted by the laws of the kingdom.

It remains declared that the fleete or ships shall stay in the ports mentioned in the precedent article the time they please & excepting the visit of health, & of acknowledging the ships with diligence, which diligence cannot be excused, his Majesty is pleased that their goods & what else they carry, be not visited.

As for what concerns this article & the following his Majesty's pleasure is, that the usage or treating is to be given those ships as is used with those of France, Swesia, & Holland, because it is not convenient to make a difference betwene nations that are friends & confederates.

His Majesty makes no doubt, but the officers of the admiralty or any others of his Majesty of great Brittain doe judge the prize they take as they shall think fitting, yea though it be with in the ports of this kingdom. To adjoyne or add one in his behalfe, or to intervene in any respect, ether by him selfe or ministers in such sentences, is neither necessary nor convenient.

At Alcantara the 18th of May 1649.

Pero Viera da Silva.

THE REPLY MADE BY MONSIEUR DE LISLE.

In answer to the first article of the paper I presented his Majesty of Portugall, whom God preserve, was pleased to grant that during the time the ships of his Majesty of great Brittain my master should stay in his ports they should have all protection & receive no damage by any, I thought it necessary that upon their departure there should be assigned them 3 naturall days before any enemy's ships should follow after, comanding such ships to be detained the said space of time, if any such be then in the said ports.

In the 3 article touching the sayle of goods frank, & free of customes & impositions, I represent anew unto his Majesty that there in these kingdoms loose nothing, rather gain by the facillitating the coming into them of the said goods, which in France & other parts, without esteeming it a curtesie, can be sould for one or 2 in the hundred, because it is ordinary with all, neither can it be matter of consequence seeing the difference of things at present. That if any of the confederate Princes were in such straights & exigency, the king my master would not repayre at some indiferent advantage, that should be made then in that case; and if Prince Rupert his Lieutenant generall, giving order for the sayl of such merchandise as it was desired in the said article, there can be no suspition of a cosonage or fraude to steale the kings custome, such a thought can not be harboured in the brest of such a person. Of this I expect an answer such as the generousness of his Majesty, whom God preserve, doth promise.

Lix: 9 Aug. 1649.

AN ANSWER TO THIS PAPER.

I have read unto His Majesty, whom God preserve, this paper & he commands me to answere what your serenity will see in this margent.

So resolved his Majesty, & in the same conformity he will command it to be put in execution.

In this poynt his Majesty resolved that by reason of the prejudice of example to friends and confederate nations, & bycause that the customes of the Alfandega which were borne with the kingdom cannot be remitted, by reason of particular partys which have their rents & interests there, he could not nor ought not consent therein to the senoria, but having respect to the reasons you represented me by word of mouth & are touched in this paper, his Majesty will comand that whensoever goods of the said quallity come in, there shall be seene what customes are payd & in respect of the quantity of them, & goods sould, will by way of grace or favour bestow upon the ships or their captains some quantitys of mony & in such proportion that their coming unto these kingdoms & selling their goods here will allways

turne them to good account. So that without any hurt or offense by the inconveniencys alleadged, your senoria will still obtain & enjoy what you pretend. God keepe you.

From court this 18th of September 1649.

Pero Viera da Silva.

Endorsed : Copie of the treaty with Mons. du Lisle.

B

The Portuguese Secretary of State to Prince Rupert.

(A Copye.)

Sir,—Juelin de Roquemond, Secretary of the French Embassye expected in this Court, in the behalfe of Prince Maurice told me of his determination to goe to sea with a party of shippes, the rest of the fleete remaininge with your Serenitye, as also of his desire before his departure to have a time allotted him to speake with his majesty. But because it is the generall report in Court, and I understand as much by the message, that Prince Maurice goes to sea to take such English shipps as follow the voyce of the parlament with intention to returne and sell his prizes, and to incorporate his forces with your Serenitye, I am constrained (as well out of my obligation to the good and service of his Majesty, as out of my ambition and desire to serve your Serenity) to tell you that this is much opposite to what was assented unto in my conference with Monsieur de Lisle by order of his Majesty, and hee if present would justify as much, and am confident will averre, where ever hee bee demanded an account ; the most principal and essentiall thing I told him, was, that considering the present state of this Kingdome and its commerce it would be noe way convenient to make a warre or shew any hostility, nor yet to give any assistance or favour against those English as followe the parlament ; and that his Majesty should rather equally entertaine and receive all of the English Nation, for with it hee had renewed the contracts of peace and amitye that was alwayes betweene the two nations. And upon that ground and supposition your Serenity might confidently send your shippes into these parts, to sell or buy, as all of the English nation did, and that it neyther concerned his Majesty or Ministers to determine the qualityes of goods imported, nor to examine the title by which they were gott in. And your Serenitye will understand as much by the forme of the aunsweare his Majesty gave Mounsier de Lisle in writing, and I sent your serenitye upon your Serenitye's first arrivall to this port. In that conformity wee proceeded, and doe proceed with your Serenityes navye, but that they should in for succour and

to repayre in the ports of this Kingdome, then to goe out in hostil manner against other shipps of the same nation, and to returne againe to the same ports to sell goods thus taken, then with newe succour and refreshinge, to sayle out to worke and doe them greater dammage is notorious hostilitye against the English Nation, and contrary to the amitye which the Portuguez Nation had alwayes with it; moreover it is wholye to take from this Kingdome the commerce with England, wherein not onely the King's customehouses in common, but a great part of his subjects are interessed, also it is a necessitye which will enforce a considerable number of English nowe livers here to leave the countrey: And whereas these inconveniencyes, in generall and at all times are of moment and concernement, at present there is one of greater consequence, which is that his Majesty by reason of his warres with Castile, and with the Companyes of Holland in his conquests, hath need of more shipping, then can bee built in this Kingdome, and therefore useth to freight them of the English nation, as of late for Brasil in the newe companyes fleete for Tanger, and every daye for the succour and service of the Conquests; and supposing the premises it is evident that not one will come to Portugal not onely for the aggrievance done, but for the losse and daunger to bee taken.

Then let your Serenitye bee pleased to weigh these reasons, and with them to consider that the joye and pleasure theyr Majesties and his Highnesse conceived and demonstrated at the arrivall and sight of your Serenityes, togeather with the applause and content wherewith all the Court doth entertaine and desire to serve you, doe deserve that your Serenityes should correspond with benefits and not with our hindrance and prejudice; a thing not to bee imagined, and not sutable to the greatnesse of your Serenityes.

And I thought it my dutye, as a great servant to your Serenitye, before I would deliver Prince Maurice his message to his Majestye, to communicate it to your Serenitye, and because I am certaine that his Majestye will much resent such a resolution, I begge it as a favour, that your Serenityes will bee pleased to desist from it, both for what this Kingdome deserveth of you, as for the love and affection of its people to you. God have your Serenitye in his protection.

from Court, 23 of December 1649.

PERO VIERA DA SILVA.

THE PORTUGUESE SECRETARY OF STATE TO PRINCE RUPERT.

(A Copye.)

SIR,—What I told Juelin du Roquemond about the English shippe that came from Maranhão,[1] that his Majesty being pleased to command

[1] Maranhao or Maranham, part of Brazil

to peruse and see the complaynt made unto him for the taking of the sayd shippe, all his ministers were of opinion that your Serenetye should have restored her not soe much of favour to the sayd shippe, or satisfaction to the King in whose seas and almost in whose sight she was taken, as that the lawes of justice and amitye did soe require because shee was freighted in this port for the transportinge of two hundred familyes of Portuguezes from the Island of S^{t} Marye[1] to Maranhão to succour and populate that plantation, also carryed some amunition and other necessaryes for the defence and conservation of that state, thence returned (according to the securitye shee had given) to demonstrate how shee had performed the premisees, and to bring backe the aunsweares and intelligences of the Governour, and in those respects was accounted as a ship of his Majestye, seing shee was in his service both out and homeward bound, that it was against all good amitye that one friend should take from the other the goods of such as served him, especially as long as they were in actuall service, turning that to their losses which in right should bee a benefit and utilitye, and that because his Majestye imagined your Serenitye's officers would have raysed noe doubts in a thing soe manifest, they mought have forborne to make further enquiries and diligences, informing your Serenitye of this veritye und truth.

Neyther is it materiall that this shippe carryed and brought goods of particulars, to gayne thereby her freights, for bee your Serenitye pleased to informe your selfe in the Citye, you shall find that when his Majestye doth freight shippes of strangers or natives, that his ministers may doe it with most advantage of his treasure, they first treate with the marchants that have commerce and correspondence in that Conquest for which they intend to freight, that soe the most part of the charges may lye upon such Marchants' accounts, and soe it happened with this shippe, but nevertheless, as I have already sayd, her principall employement was the King's service, otherwise shee had never gone to Maranhão; and that end or intention as principall is to be looked upon and not the accessorye and consequence of farre lesse consideration.

His Majestye will by noe means consent, that the Justice of his Majestye of Great Britaine bee prejudiced, in the same nature he cannot suffer the prejudice of his Crownes and peoples justice, as it falls out in this case notoriouslye, and wee beleive that the officers and ministers of your Serenitye will soe understand it, if they looke upon these reasons and informe themselves of the trueth heere alleadged, and soe command restitution of the sayd shippe, being shee can never bee held a lawefull prize. God have your Serenity in his protection. from Court, this 23 of December 1649.

PERO VIERA DA SILVA.

[1] Probably St. Mary of the Azores.

C.

The Portuguese Secretary of State to Prince Rupert.

(A Copye.)

Sir,—There are nowe many dayes past, since the interessed in the shippes and goods taken by your Serenitye, and for the sale whereof you have contracted in this port, have required of his Majesty, whom God preserve, theyr right and justice, and, what is of greater consequence, the right of the Parlement, procuringe and endeavouringe to hinder your Serenitye from disposing of those goods in this kingdome, as it hath bin denyed to others of like condition in the countreys of Princes of nearer parentage and alliance to his Majestye of Great Britaine: And because his Majestye, desirous that your Serenitye should goe out of this port with all satisfaction, hath commanded to find out and use some meanes to aunsweare and accommodate the interessed with their convenience and without offence to your Serenitye, and that nowe they the sayd interessed have recourse to the Counsells and Ministers of the Crowne, requiringe an ordinary course of justice, it is impossible for his Majestye to hinder it, rather hee shall bee constrained to permitt the Courts to use their jurisdiction, to avoyde great inconveniences that by the contrary may redound prejudiciall to the quietnesse and tranquillitye of these kingdomes. With this instruction his Majesty commands mee to tell you from him, that to avoyde embargoes and the sequestration of your goods, as also the arrestinge and proceedinge against the buyers, your Serenitye should reembarke all into your shippes, and with all brevity hasten your departure, because over and above the premises, it is a busynesse much to bee repaired at, that your Serenitye being anchored in this port without power or authoritye in it to molest such shippes as follow the voyce of the parlament, nor theyrs to offend such as follow the voyce of his majesty of Great Britaine, should command and oblige with your Artillery such shippes as passe to strike and lower theyr flags to your Admirall, as it happened to a shippe lately departed for Italye; and it being here ane inviolable lawe and custome, that noe shippe goe out of port without the privitye and licence of his Majestye, your serenity dispacht one these nights past that caused a considerable detriment to some Holland vessels in union and amitye with us, as is notorious. And now the Countrey with great resentment begins to represent unto his Majesty, that hee can never consent to anything that shall bee offensive to the parlament by reason of commerce nor

alter the lawes and auntient customes, especially to the prejudice of a third partye. And moreover doth complayne of what I communicated to your Serenitye in two pages of mine, without as yet receiving any satisfaction. And his Majesty doth expect, that as in what laye in his power hee procured and desired quietnesse and union betweene the parlament and king of great Britane, soe likewise your Serenity would procure and desire the same betweene him and his subjects, taking away all occasions of disgust to a nation that with soe great joye and content received and entertained your Serenity. Bee pleased, Sir, to aunsweare this letter with brevitye, his Majesty with care and anxietye expects it. God have your Serenity in his protection. from Court 27 of January 1650.

PERO VIERA DA SILVA.

D.

THE PORTUGUESE SECRETARY OF STATE TO PRINCE RUPERT.

(A Copye.)

SIR,—His Majesty having seene and perused the paper your Serenity left in his royall hands, wherein your S. doth aske whether the aunsweare given Mounsieur du Lisle doth still take place, or hath autoritye, his Majesty gave me command from him to tell your S. that he never doubted to admit into his ports the shipps of his Majesty of Great Britaine in that form and manner as hee signified and declared unto him by Monsieur du Lisle, and that he wonders much your S. should make unto him such a proposition, there being nothing altered on the behalfe of his Majesty.

If your Serenitye did it by reason that some dayes past I did communicate and intimate to your S. that it was not just and good correspondence, that your S. bound and comming to this Kingdome should upon this barre or neare it intercept and take such shipps as came to it from our Conquests or any others of commerce, and should come into this port with them with intention to make sayle of them in our sayd port, as also should remayne foure months therein with soe considerable a navye terrifying and affrightinge shipps of commerce from comming in to the great prejudice of the Crowne and complaynt of the subjects ; That your Serenity would take notice, that noe such difficultyes could well bee framed out of my discourse and proposition, your Serenity knowes very well that the reasons above mentioned and other thinges done by your S. in this port have bin a mighty hinderance to trade, with the oppression, and irreparable

dammadge of this people, directly opposite to what was aunsweared Monsieur du Lisle, because in that aunsweare in the first place our commerce, amitye and neutralitie with nations in alliance is secured, and made good, as also the conservation of the Kingdome itself. Soe that the shipps of commerce belonging to his Majesty of great Britaine may all come into these ports, and sell what goods they importe, also men of warre may sell what they bring in, but such cannot be admitted if they exceed the number of foure, and those shall onely staye in port some fifteene or twentye dayes to sell their merchandizes, succour and vittayle : with advertence also that such shall not be suffered to come in, if they bring with them any prises taken neare our barres, or that come consigned to our ports, all this being hurtfull to trade, offensive and prejudiciall to the subject, and contrarye to what was assented with Mounsier du Lisle, as above sayd. All which neverthelesse his Majestye for this time hath winked at and tolerated of his great love to his Majestye of Great Britaine and of his respect and honour to the person of your Serenitye, whom God have in his protection. from Court 18 of March 1650.

PERO VIERA DA SILVA.

E.

ANSWER BY CHARLES VANE TO PRINCE RUPERT'S DECLARATION.

Although the paper intituled the declaration of his highnes Prince Rupert be so full of notorious lyes, false grounds & improbable surmises that it is not likely to produce any other effort upon serious & intelligent sprits that know any thing of the estate of our affaires, then to move them to a further discovery & contempt of his most illustrious arrogancy ; yet because there are many ingenious men, as well of our owne as of the other nation, who meerely through ignorance in matter of fact, may have their Judgm^{ts} much dazled by the authority of such splendid & majesticall impressions, & chiefly because the present drift of the paper is to raise Jelosies betweene the most renowned King of Portingall & the fleete of the Parlam^{t} of England ; I shall not think itt time much mispent to give some short anymadversions upon itt, not taking much notice of his filthy & scurrilous Rhetorick, wherewth he endeavours to disfigure the beauty & actions of the great councell upon which the name of God is so gloriously written.

That the Parliament of England for many yeares past hath binne in armes against the late King of England, contending for their owne

just rights and native lyberties of the people intrusted with them, & which they are bound by all obligations both humane & divine to mayntayne & preserve against all the efforts of tirany what soever, is famously knowne unto the whole world, what issue itt hath pleased god to put to that greate difference by delivering up the power & person of that king into their hands, & which hath since binne donne upon him, & declared against his sonne heir apparent to those evell counsells which divided betweene the head and shoulders of his father wee are now no waise afraid or ashamed to heare of. The most rayling accusations our adversaries can bring against us will be unto us matter of filling our mouths with the prayses of our god, who hath donne terrible things in righteousness for the good of his people, and hath wrought out for them so great salvation by such unheard of & unparaled wayes ; neither doe wee take itt for any disparagement to us our parlament & nation, that wee are so vile in the esteeme of this Vagabond Jerman, a Prince of Fortune, whose highnes is nothing else but haugtiness, his Principality meere piracye, the plurality of his person an affectation so singular that no reall prince can chuse but smile att itt, who after he was cudgelled out of England from his trade of plundering did in a short time sett up at sea and was even now ready to sett forth of this harbor, & to take pastime with the Leviathan in the great waters, had not the audacious fleete of rebells come in the very nick of time to put an imbargo upon his highnes.

And truly itts no marueile if he hath ever since binne so exceedingly transported with choller, & foames so beastly att the mouth, calling us rebells, thieves, professed enemies to all government, thereby endeavouring to render us (as much as in him lies) odious to all nations & princes, espetially to the most renown'd King of Portugall as by the whole discourse may appeare, the present scope thereof being to possess his Majesty with apparition of som strong designe intended by this fleete against this Kingdome. To that end his way is in the first place to make his Majesty believe that this fleete was procured by the sollicitation of the Spanish embassador, intended to remayne about this coast till another fleete should come to joyne with itt & having had their ends upon the sacred person of his Highness & his fleete to goe with the Castillians into the strayts against the french & then to com against this countrey ; this likely tale is made good by the confession of the Spanish embassador's secretary and by the discovery of som of the counsell of the State unto some persons of quality in England, & all this must be taken for truth, because he, within whose principallity there dwelleth no lye, hath said so, & yet itt seemes his Highness is loath to venture the issue of this ground upon the bare credit of this affirmation, & therefore backs it immediately with an argument of congruity, that may not be denied ; for who will

not beleeve there is som great designe in hand betweene us & the Castillians, seeing in the same fleete there is come an agent of the Rebells in England to the King of Castyle, & att the same time another agent unto this King of Portingall, nay rather who will beleeve this man to be in his right witts, that by such absurd & ridiculous consequences as this to put 2 nations of so antient a confederacy together by the eares. This folly himself eftsoone perceeveth & so reinforceth itt with many pretty devises of his owne making, so that the whole argument with the additionall strength being put into a fighting posture stands thus. An agent from England not thought on till 3 weeks before the coming out of the fleete procured by som marchants in London (among whome the 2 Bushells, who have a brother in Lixoa [1] a great freind of the rebells, weare cheife) to be sent thither & there by them to be mayntayned disinterested from the publique body of the parlament is arrived at the same time that another agent is imployed to the King of Spayne.[2] Ergo there is som great plott a contriving betweene the Parlament of England & the King of Spayne; how true the particulars of these are I leave to the gentlemen conserned in itt, ether to refuse or to make themselves merry, which they shall think best; but who seeth not that this wild logick stands in neede of som boldly att hand to second itt, & they never face without a reserve for such uses itt is nothing with them to devise lyes & frame votes, to create mistrust & if neede be to work miracles even to the transforming of King Tatam [3] into a roundhead their study & care is not so much how their devises may be made to looke like truth as how they may be fitted to their purpose, & to their purpose indeede itt would shuite very well at this time if he could make his Majesty beleive that the Parlament of England is so neere (as he most falsely & malitiously affirmeth) upon terms of defiance of making warr upon him; but to leave him to his owne wayes out of which he cannot walke, & to come to a speedy close of this tedious discourse, the playne trueth is that his Highness being not long since driven out of Ireland, where he had deserved the seate of his principallity, & being now by Gods providence shutt up in this harbor, whereby his hopes of making himselfe greate somewhere abroade in the wide world, was so suddenly & extreamely disapointed, is growne desperate, besturring himselfe on every side with his lyes as Ajax in the tragedy did with his

[1] Lisbon. [2] Anthony Ascham.

[3] [This may possibly refer to John Tatham, dramatist and loyalist. In his play *The Distracted State*, which was acted in London in 1641 and subsequently, several usurping kings, the lawful prince being in exile, are brought on the stage one after another in quick succession, placed on the throne, and deposed by the power of the sword.]

whips, & is become as on that hath altogether lost both his courage & witt, else he would never have adventured to impose such sylly gulleries as he hath donne upon a King & Counsell so prudent & circumspect; nor would have violated his owne honor so much as to begg protection & cry out for helpe at the sight of such an inconsiderable compagny of Roundheads as wee are, & as in his jollity he is pleased to make of us; for what is itt else but the impotency of spirritt overwhelmed with desperation & feare that hath moved him to such extreame impatience, to breake out into such raving exclamations against our audatious attempt to approach so neere toward his highnesse, with such haynous & horrid aggravations of the manner of our advance & most importunate imprecations of justice & revenge upon us as if to have assayled his person & fleete had binne to trample under foote the law of nations, to overturne the foundations of all rule & right, & to dissolve the very bonds of all humane sosiety in the worlde, whereas his highness hath most insolently & outragiously affronted the power & honor of his magesty, even within the command of his castells, as is well knowne, & yet thinks he hath donne nothing therein but what is agreeable to his owne greatness; yea the excesse & rage of his impatiency & malice against us is such, & so boundlesse, that he would fayne make his magesty beleive what is scarse possible for a sole enemy to immagine of us, that our designe was not to end in the destruction of him, & his fleete, but to proceede on seizing of his majestie's fleete bound for Brazill, yea upon the citty ittselfe, but whatsoither itt be that either the malice or feare of our enemies ether hath or shall suggest against us, or what art or insinuations soever shall be used by any to make way to those their scandalous & wicked suggestions I am confident his magesty is farr from reaceaving any such impressions as by them are intended upon him, nether doubt I but by this time he is most fully assured both of the sincere & well affection & earnest desire of the Parlament of England[1] a firme & perpetuall league of amity with him & the nation of Portingall, & also of the peacable intentions of this fleete & of our innocent behaviour according to our duty, a prosecution & conformity to the same, & if probabilities may take place I could wish all unprejudiced men to consider whither the Portugalls may not with very good reason promise unto themselves more advantage and security by confiding in us, who are sent out by the commonwealth of England for the protection of trade rather then in them who make itt their trade to spoyle & robb whomesover they meete almost without any discrimination in us who are only english, the most antient allyes affectionat freinds of their nation, or in that fleete whose strength doth most consist of Irish who have ever binne & still are most passionatly & almost superstitiously devoted to the Spanish nation &

[1] Some words here, as 'for the making of,' are wanting.

party, & itt is a thing that deserves their serious consideration & examination that there is among them on Mucknell a most malitious enemy to the Portingall nation who about five years since being master of the shipp John bound to the East India, did most wickedly & barbarously betray a Porteges governor, sent for Goa with his wife & kinred & 60 servants whom he had taken att Mazembeke,[1] & afterward inviting him & a great part of his retinew ashoare to a feast at the Isle Johana,[2] most perfidiously left him there, came away with the shipp & being two leagues off the Island turned the remaynder of his company, near about thirtyfive in number, most mercilesly, into a small boate, to shift for themselves, having first stripped them of all their gould & Jewells, apparrell & goods to a great valew : itt weare easy upon occation to abound in discoveries of the horrid practices of this generation of men from time to time but that the world is sufficiently full of the crie of them, & for my part I take not so much delight in ripping up the vilenest of others as in clearing up our owne innocency.

[1] *I.e.* Mozambique.

[2] Johanna or Anyuan Island, midway between the coasts of Africa and Mozambique.

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